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THE BUCHANAN-DOUGLAS FEUD

BY PHILIP G. AUCHAMPAUGH

THE Douglas feud* against Buchanan and the Southern men who were the strength of his administration was not born in a day. Long before the days of the Lecompton constitution there were signs of trouble on the horizon. Douglas' troubles in the South were mostly of his own making. Buchanan was not drawn into them to any great degree until he reached the Presidency.

The year 1843 saw Douglas a figure of importance in Washington politics and 1852 saw him prominent among the presidential possibilities before the Democratic convention. Among his supporters was a certain group of ocean mail contractors,¹ men of the loaves and fishes school of politicians, and some of the youthful enthusiasts of the "Young America" movement. This latter group wanted the United States to exert itself to make the world safer for the revolutionaries of 1848-50. They believed in "Manifest Destiny," and professed to be bored with "old fogies" like Cass and Buchanan. Let the younger men like Douglas have an opportunity to serve the Republic from the White House. But older men had other ideas and controlled votes to carry out their intentions.

It is not without significance that the men who were closest to Buchanan in this preliminary struggle were not very

* Note: The abbreviations used in this article are as follows: L. C.—Archives of the Library of Congress; H. S. P.—Archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹Sears, Louis Martin, *John Slidell*, Durham, 1925, p. 83. Besides Slidell, Senator King of Alabama, Buchanan's most intimate friend in Washington, commented to Buchanan upon the grafters in the Douglas camp. King to Buchanan, March 6, 1852, H. S. P.

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favorable to the Little Giant. Although the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had not yet come to vex the land, John Slidell, one of the bosses of the Southwest, and a reliable personal friend to Buchanan showed signs of distrust towards the Illinois Senator.² It was an evil day for Douglas because the Louisiana boss proved a most formidable stumbling block in his path to the White House.

Buchanan was far from being a Douglas abettor. He had at first been opposed to the removal of the Missouri line in 1850. He warned a correspondent against further tampering with the subject in 1854. Moreover, Douglas was young, aggressive and arrogant. Such characteristics Buchanan, now proud of his political skill of over thirty years standing, was not prone to appreciate.

On the eve of the Cincinnati Convention Slidell's opinion of Douglas momentarily improved. The balloting at Cincinnati finally showed Douglas as Buchanan's most formidable rival. Douglas withdrew in the name of harmony and Slidell secured the nomination of Douglas' friend, Breckinridge, for the Vice-Presidency as a "graceful and merited compliment to the friends of Douglas."³

Buchanan's chief supporters had either been, like Slidell, hostile to Douglas or like Wise, governor of Virginia, with presidential ambitions of their own. Wise, however, was not unfriendly to Douglas, and evidently considered the Little Giant of some possible value to his own ambitions. John W. Forney, a Pennsylvania editor, and Robert J. Walker appeared to have been at least more inclined to friendship with Douglas than otherwise. Douglas was not treated with much consideration on cabinet appointments. Already Slidell was warning Buchanan that the Illinois Senator, "was altogether high and mighty, setting up to control not merely Illinois, but the whole Northwest."⁴

²*Ibid*, p. 93.

³Sears, p. 124.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 139.

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Breckinridge called at times at the White House. The President delegated Miss Lane to receive him. Although Miss Lane was charming, the Vice-President soon ceased to call, and later complained that he was unable to get any appointments for his friends until August, 1860.

While Buchanan intended to be the head of his party, he did not desire to force unpleasant and needless issues. To a friend who warned him of Douglas' hostile attitude he replied . . .⁵ "I like Douglas very much. He shall have no cause to oppose my administration, but if he should, whilst I shall deeply regret it, I must bear it with a patient and resolute spirit" Thus Buchanan let it be known that Douglas would not be the power behind the throne in his administration. Even before Buchanan was inaugurated, Douglas attacked Slidell for defending Senator Bright of Indiana whom Douglas had attacked.

Although Douglas had no personal appointee in the cabinet some letters of the time classed him in groups with Cobb, Forney, and Walker. Conditions were ever inclined to shift and so it is somewhat difficult to trace the real attitude of some of these men at the time the cabinet was being slated. Floyd, at a later date, was reported to be favorable to peace with him for personal reasons.⁶

Before noticing Douglas' attitude towards the Lecompton constitution, let us look at his prospects for the election of 1860. Let it be first said, that there was something more fundamental at issue than one election at this time. Douglas had evidently adjudged himself to be the greatest man in the party at the North. Biographers have since been inclined to take him at his own estimation. He probably held that it was his invention, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which had saved the party in 1856 and had placed James Bu-

⁵Auchampaugh, Philip G., *James Buchanan and His Cabinet in the Eve of Secession*, Lancaster, 1926, p. 37; S. M. Johnson to Buchanan, August 17, 1857, H. S. P.

⁶Beveridge, Albert J., *Abraham Lincoln*, New York, 1928, Vol. II, p. 533 note.

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chanan in the White House. Then there was his graceful withdrawal done in time to strengthen the ticket and give the party the appearance of unanimity. He had labored long and successfully in the campaign that followed. Illinois had been kept in the Democratic column largely through his efforts and other States had been strengthened in the fight. He expected the party to ask him for favors. He would show the South that he was the man among the Northern Democrats who must be consulted.

What had happened? There were no friends in the cabinet whom he had actually placed there. The President did not hang on his words. Inasmuch as Buchanan had declared for only one term gossip of succession filled the air at an early date. In 1856 Douglas had been balked by a mighty coalition of Democratic Senators led by Slidell. Slidell and Douglas had quarrelled. If Douglas was an unsafe man in 1856 in the eyes of the Louisiana Senator, what of 1860? Buchanan and Slidell were hand and glove, and where there was a President there was power of federal patronage. Breckinridge, who had been nominated to heal any disappointment he may have felt in 1856, was not able to get the ear of the President in 1857. He could, however, take some comfort in the appointment of Walker as Governor of Kansas, and the appointment of his friend, John Calhoun, of Illinois, as Surveyor General of that Territory. But Walker had ambitious thoughts of his own. For him Kansas was not merely an appointment, but an opportunity for a renewed career.

Besides the hostility of Slidell, many other candidates reared their hopes in the shadow of the White House for the honors which Douglas thought were within his grasp. The new administration had not had a very long period of existence when rumor held that Cobb was the destined heir and was to have the support of John W. Forney, whom Douglas may have hoped would support himself, in his as-

pirations to secure the Presidency. An equally dangerous man was Senator Bright, whose political career has been recently reviewed by Professor Charles Murphy of Purdue University. Bright was a powerful rival for control of the entire section where Douglas would be king. In 1856 a correspondent of the *Herald* declared that Bright and Douglas were rivals not only for the Presidency but for the "supremacy of the West." Bright and Slidell were on good terms. Buchanan considered the Indiana Senator one of his confidential friends. Then there was Wise, of Virginia, who was always being urged by his friends to seek the coveted honor. Wise could command much of Buchanan for the services of his Virginia delegation in the Cincinnati Convention. Buchanan's lieutenant, Robert Tyler of Philadelphia, was as we have seen, almost as devoted to Wise as to Buchanan. He could influence the eastern part of the Pennsylvania Democracy. Senator Bigler who was by no means hostile to Douglas at this time also had hopes of his own. The cabinet was said to harbor three prospective Vice-Presidents, Floyd, Toucey, and Thompson. Some of them might be persuaded, but the two latter were not openly seeking an alliance with the Little Giant. Douglas was faced not by one rival but by an army, most of whom seemed to have better claims on executive support than he. Neither Bright nor Slidell were inclined to think of him for the next Presidency. Indeed they were opposed to any idea of his being a great national figure at all.

What would the maker of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill do? He was young and could wait, but he was also impatient. He was determined that those who flouted his power should be made to feel it. Douglas was not a small-minded man. To fight his enemies who smiled and persistently refused him admittance to their inner councils over trifles would have been absurd. But the times were troublesome and a major issue was not long in coming.

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When Walker left Washington for Kansas in May, 1857, he had visited Douglas enroute. The Administration had been anxious to please everybody and earnestly desired to have the troublesome Kansas question removed from the field of politics. At that time Douglas had indicated to Walker that he would support no constitution unless he was convinced that it was the will of the people concerned.

There are indications that at least one of the Administration men saw the possibility of a Douglas bolt at an early date. Douglas might be in a bad pocket should the Lecompton Constitution go directly to Congress without a prior popular ratification by the voters of the Territory. S. M. Johnson, writing to Buchanan in August, 1857, gave his opinion thus,

"If he (Douglas) goes with the extreme South, he will be strangled in Illinois, and he is no more in all the North, if he supports your Kansas policy he will strike from his support all the . . . forces which have made him what he is"

But Douglas had no intention of being strangled in Illinois nor of being squeezed by a coalition. Defeat in his own State would have ruined his chances as an aspirant for the Presidency in 1860. He well knew that Slidell was opposed to him, and with his forces in the South and Southwest plus the aid of the Buchanan administration could make his path to a necessary two-thirds majority in the coming Democratic National Convention more than difficult. The path between the mountains became clearer and the Rubicon flowed at his feet.

By mid-November it was known that the Lecompton Convention had only submitted the slavery clause to the Kansas voters for consideration. It was also known that the Administration would probably accept whatever came to Washington in the way of a constitution from Kansas, provided it was legal, as the best way out of trouble. Once ad-

mitted, the new State could do as she pleased without further benefit to the Republican party or damage to the Democrats. Douglas ceased to hesitate. No coalition should continue to encircle him. No group in Illinois should call him faithless to the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. His whole feeling which was far more than opposition to the Lecompton Constitution well vented itself in the exclamation, "By G—d, sir, I made James Buchanan, and by G—d, sir, I will unmake him"!

Such a remark, while not unnatural, was hardly factual. Buchanan's record of over a quarter of a century of public service was in a large measure the cause of his nomination.

It was this record for safety and moderation plus personal friendship that had moved Slidell, with the aid of powerful Democratic Senators to promote his nomination at the Cincinnati convention in the face of Douglas' friends as competitors for the prize. Douglas' friends had withdrawn his name at his request when victory no longer was in sight. Buchanan could have been elected without the vote of Illinois in 1856.

Before he left Chicago for Washington Douglas let it be known that he was opposed to the Lecompton Constitution. This was before the Kansans had voted on it in the form presented. Walker had also gone to Washington and, when he failed to get Buchanan to refuse the Lecompton Constitution, co-operated with Douglas.

There had been much speculation as to what Douglas would do and how far he would go. Everyone knew that he was ambitious in general, and for the Presidency in particular. It was more or less common knowledge that he was displeased with the Lecompton Constitution as not having come up to the principles of his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Evidently he considered himself as its special custodian and interpreter. No doubt many Southerners who had warmed under the call to protect their rights in Kansas had not fully

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considered his possible insurgency when they were taking their stand. Others of the ultra Southern camp did not care. They placed little value on the perpetuity of the Union or the Democratic party for its own sake. But others did weigh matters, some less and some more.

James Van Dyke, one of Buchanan's lieutenants in Philadelphia, wrote Buchanan on November 29th.⁷ He was glad the President would sustain the convention. It was the legal body. He hoped Douglas would not be a fool. "I feel," he wrote Buchanan, "a great desire that all things should turn out right and believe you, by your firmness, will make them so . . ."

As has been shown there was hope and expectation that the people would vote on what was presented. Buchanan himself was said to have expected the constitution would arrive in Washington minus the slavery clause.

Having arrived in Washington, Douglas called on the President. They could not agree. Buchanan did not desire advice or argument. He was tired of Kansas and its voters who could always leave one in a predicament by not voting. He was, however, still hoping that they would vote on the coming balloting in late December. Then all would be well. But that did not suit Douglas. The President must refer the Lecompton Constitution back to the people of Kansas. This was no way out, and Buchanan, backed by the Southern leaders of his party, and most of the Northern men as well, refused to do it. The interview came to an end. The President rose and towering above the Little Giant, said with stern dignity,

"Mr. Douglas, I desire you to remember that no Democrat ever yet differed with an administration of his own choice without being crushed. Beware of the fate of Tallmadge and Rives," two men whom Jackson had broken for party insurgency.

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"Mr. President," Douglas answered in his deep impressive voice, "I wish you to remember that General Jackson is dead." Whereupon with "head erect and eyes flashing, Douglas stalked out of the White House" The last was an act of aggression and showed that there was something of more emotional content than the troubles of Kansas "immigrants" at the back of it. If that had been all, it was hardly necessary to defy the President in such a manner. The President had never done him a personal injury, and his action could not fail to make what promised to be a bad quarrel more bitter. Perhaps Douglas was inclined to be careless of consequences. Perhaps he thought that he held the Democratic North in the hollow of his hand, and that he could carry it away from the President's side. In this he was to be mistaken. He was also plainly striking a blow at the Southern leaders over Buchanan's head. It was a notification to them that he intended war, and that if they wanted peace they must take it on his terms in Kansas and consult with him hereafter.

He would not wait for a possible rejection by the Kansans of the slavery clause in the Lecompton Constitution although even his friends urged him to delay taking his position until the vote was polled. To the cautioning remarks of the President at a later interview he replied, "I have taken a through ticket, and checked all my baggage."⁸ Buchanan and the Southern leaders did the only thing they could do. They fought.

Douglas opened his first public battle in Washington on December 9, 1857, the day after the President's annual message. The whole world, including his bride, formerly Miss Adele Cutts, and her mother were there to see. It is notice-

⁸This statement found in Beveridge may or may not be correct. Buchanan in a signed letter published in 1860 wrote that he had no conversation on political subjects with Douglas since his first annual message. But a conversation is not a question. See *Herald*, September 7, 1860. For a slightly different version see Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, p. 356.

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able at this time that Douglas did not assail the Administration in vituperative language. He largely confined himself to the merits of his case. He held that the referendum had not been a fair one, that it was not in keeping with the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Neither Congress nor anyone else had the right to force a slave-state or a free-state constitution on a State. Hence Congress should not accept a constitution which had not been placed before the people in its entirety for a referendum.

Fletcher Webster, son of the great Daniel, wrote Buchanan, "I cannot but regard Mr. Douglas' course as unfair towards you and calculated to do much mischief by prolonging and renewing agitation which every one ought to wish at an end . . . Kansas has occupied minds long enough."

The election on the Lecompton Constitution was held but practically no free-state men participated. Hence the small vote that was polled was almost a unit for the constitution with slavery. In some places free-state men had kept pro-slavery men from the ballot box. An election under the same constitution for its state officers was due two weeks later. Meanwhile, as has been stated above, acting Governor Stanton called an extra session of the territorial legislature which issued a call for another referendum on the entire constitution to be held on the same day. This "call" was not legal. Many of the more radical of the free-state party were not in favor of voting for officers under the Lecompton Constitution, but Editor Brown of the *Herald of Freedom* and other responsible citizens quit the main hall, where a party was meeting, and in the cellar of his press building made up a slate of candidates. This list they successfully circularized throughout the Territory. Hence on the day appointed there were two sets of officials and judges and two matters before the voters. The vote on the constitution was, the constitution with slavery 138; against the constitution 10,226; for the constitution without slavery

23. The election being illegal the pro-slavery party had refrained from voting. A lesser number of the free-state party took part in the election of would-be state officials and carried the day. The new House would have been 29 free-state party, pro-slavery 15; the Senate 13 to 6 in favor of the anti-slavery or free-state men. The vote rejecting the constitution was forwarded to Washington where it was bound to complicate the situation. The regular Democrats in many instances were satisfied that the free-state people had at last voted. They were willing that they should do as they pleased with Kansas.

The President felt bound to submit the first and legal returns.

Douglas met this message with a three-hour assault. At that time he was unwell and his wife seriously ill. Douglas was at bay. This is shown by the fact that he declared he would rather retire into private life than be driven from his principles or to make an abject and servile submission to the executive will. Douglas claimed he was the victim of a tyrant despot, and Buchanan hinted that he was a martyr to a wild and insanely ambitious party rebel.

The weeks that followed featured a factional battle in Illinois, and to a lesser extent, in some other districts. Douglas would have war, would he? Then let it be at his door and around his hearth. Editors who were both aiding Douglas in their papers and holding federal positions were in some cases relieved of further government service. The Republicans began to rejoice. But their rejoicing in Illinois was tempered with caution for eastern Republicans began to talk of adopting Douglas into the party. They did not care to support a man who had not borne the heat of the day in the party vineyards.

Only three Democratic Senators supported Douglas. These were Broderick of California, Pugh of Ohio and Stuart of Michigan. The first of these was killed in a duel

before the term was over. The second became reconciled to the administration through the English Bill.

Not only from the South but from the North came words of sympathy to the Executive for the wanton attack upon his organization. Daniel S. Dickinson,⁹ vigorous leader of the Hards in the New York Democracy, wrote some very interesting observations on the situation which had arisen.

"You may feel that you are to be sustained by the popular judgment of the country in the firm and judicious discharge of duty.

"The opposition, just now so fretfully conspicuous, was determined on before you were inaugurated and the development is made through the Kansas question, because it promised better returns than anything else. It was the imperative duty of every good citizen, and especially of every Democrat to aid you in abating this Kansas nuisance by every energy within his power, and to help throw it out of the doors of Congress, and send it home for adjustment there, at the earliest moment. But instead of this, Senators and Governors unite with, nay and out Herod the Greelys, Jim Lanes and Topekaites generally in casting fresh fire-brands into the federal legislature and embroiling the country over abstract and bootless issues . . .

"Senator Douglas held a most equivocal position in the great struggle of 1849 and 1850, voting against us or not voting oftener than otherwise, nor was he ever understood to be, or to have been the champion of 'popular sovereignty' until after the people had clearly sanctioned and approved the measure.

"This agency in the repeal of the dead Missouri line afterwards most fearfully imperilled the peace of the country, the ascendancy of the Democratic party, and the success of the campaign of 1856; and whatever else the move-

⁹H. S. P.

ment evinced, it gave feeble evidence to me of wisdom or statesmanship. It seems to have imposed upon him the necessity for a new game upon the political checquerboard, and hence a clue to his motives for action.

"Our old friend Gov. Walker, when he went to Kansas, did not intend to wield a barren sceptre, or return without laurels. He took with him one of the writers for the New York Times, a 'Black Republican' sheet, and that paper from the time he left, has been especially mindful that he should not be overlooked by the public, and has been his prompt and persevering advocate from the time he accepted the office to the writing of his acute and lawyer-like letter to General Cass.

"I deem it no injustice to these restless men, to say, that in my judgment they have more regard in their movements to the succession than they have for the people of Kansas, the harmony of the Democratic party, the peace of the country or the success and honor of the Administration"

In order to regain ground in the North the Administration aided by Toombs attempted to secure the passage of some explanatory amendment which would give the Kansans additional assurance that they could do as they pleased should they take the status of statehood. Slidell gave the measure his support. Such assurance was superfluous to a constitutional lawyer but it was expected to have a political value of a sedative nature. House and Senate failed to agree. A conference committee evolved the English Bill.

This bill returned the Lecompton Constitution to the voters with a land grant should they choose to accept it and thus become a State. If Kansas rejected the Lecompton Constitution, she was to remain a Territory until her population was sufficient to send a member to the House. This last solution was calculated to prevent a revival of the Kansas issue in 1860.

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Professor Frank Haywood Hodder¹⁰ has exposed the myth which declared that the land grant was a bribe to the Kansans to induce them to accept Lecompton. Professor Hodder has shown that Henry Wilson who made the charge in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, rearranged a speech of one of the members of Congress to suit his purposes.

It also appears that the grant in question was not unusual in size. Indeed it was identical to the amount offered to the free State of Minnesota the previous year. Furthermore, Congress, when under Republican control in later years adopted the policy of delaying would-be States until their population was sufficient to send a member to the House. No one claimed that Kansas would ultimately lose the land should she reject the Lecompton Constitution. Then it must also be called to mind that Buchanan signed the bill admitting Kansas into the Union as a free State in 1861.

Remarks and letters of members of the Administration indicate that the English Bill was intended to meet the objections of Northern Democrats who had opposed the Lecompton Constitution because it had not in its entirety been submitted to the voters of Kansas for ratification. Buchanan wrote to Governor Denver, the able and tactful successor of Stanton and Walker, that if Lecompton failed no settlement could be reached before 1860 with the result that the material interests of Kansas would be¹¹ "the sport and capital of the Black Republicans in the Presidential Election of 1860." Black was reported to have said of the English Bill,¹² "Those of them (anti-Lecompton Democrats) who are willing to give a fair support to the administration, and

¹⁰*American Historical Association Report*, 1906, Vol. 1, pp. 201-210.

¹¹Moore, John Bassett, *Works of James Buchanan*, Philadelphia 1903-1912, Vol. X, p. 203.

¹²*House Reports*, 36th Congress 1st Session, No. 648, usually known as the Report of the Covode Investigation, pp. 323, 324.

to regard the English Bill as a settlement, ought to be conciliated, treated kindly, and supported"

Postmaster General Brown was said to be willing to effect a reconciliation with those party rebels who would support the bill. Yancey's biographer states that the bill was a concession demanded by Buchanan of the Southern Democracy to save the party at the North. Quitman's biographer practically states the same thing. Quitman voted against the bill and his statement was not due to any tender consideration of the Administration.

The English Bill afforded Northern Democrats, who had refused to support the Lecompton, either from conviction or fear of their constituents, an opportunity to preserve their reputations at home and recover favor with the Administration.

Douglas, according to information furnished him by Buchanan's friend, Senator Gwin of California, was undecided for about a week as to whether he should accept the English Bill. The memorandum reads as follows:¹³

"April 30, 1858. Senator Gwin informs me that Governor Walker had told him that on last Saturday night, 24th, he, Douglas, Stanton, and Forney had held a consultation on the English programme. They agreed to accept it and Douglas was to advance \$100 to telegraph their determination . . . over the United States.

"On Sunday another meeting was held at which Broderick, Montgomery, McKibben, and others were present, and they prevailed upon Douglas to change his purpose."

The inference seems to be that they threatened to withdraw their political support from him or perhaps assail his position should he support the English Bill.

A partial repetition of this statement is found in Buchanan's letter to Black at a later date, and also in a speech

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of Carl Schurz against Douglas in the campaign of 1860. It reads as follows:¹⁴

"And this (opposition to Lecompton) he would hardly have had the courage to do, had not, as is now known to all of us, the indignant threats of the gallant Broderick overawed him when he was about to compromise with Buchanan. (Applause.)" John Hickman attacked Douglas in like vein.

Had Douglas accepted the English Bill it well might have strengthened the party in the Northwest, but about all it could have done for Douglas would have been a possible restoration of some of his ousted friends to their federal posts. Then, too, it might have lost some voters who had abetted him in an insurgent role. The forces of Slidell were more hostile to him than ever. Bright was still a rival who could be made powerful by Southern and Administration support.

Faced with the desertion of his handful of political followers in Washington, and by a possible desertion by some of his half-Republican Illinois supporters Douglas decided to refuse the olive branch. Douglas now held firm.

Sheahan,¹⁵ Douglas' ablest campaign biographer blamed the Administration for not "calling quits" after the vote on the English Bill. This was good politics for he desired to impress his readers that Douglas was being forced to defend himself unwillingly against revengeful attacks. But Douglas repented of nothing, and seemed to take the attitude that the remainder of the party had strayed from him and the only wise exposition of the Cincinnati Platform. That Slidell, Bright, Buchanan, and the coalition in the Senate would accept such suggestions Sheahan could not have believed himself. Still in 1858 Albert G. Brown, Senator from Mis-

¹⁴Schurz, Carl, *Judge Douglas—The Bill of Indictment*, Tribune Tracts, No. 9. New York, 1860. The speech was delivered at Cooper Institute, New York, September 13, 1860, p. 3. For Hickman see the *New York Herald*, July 26, 1860.

¹⁵*Life of Douglas*, pp. 395-397.

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issippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, even in 1860, were not averse to giving a friendly glance in the direction of the Illinois Senator.

Just before leaving Washington Douglas, before the Senate, denounced his opponents for being in a plot against him.

There is some evidence to show that certain efforts were made by mutual friends to reconcile Buchanan and Douglas in the summer of 1858.¹⁶ The Illinois Senator, according to a mutual friend, was willing to conciliate if he could secure the endorsement by the Administration of his Illinois nominations.

No mention was made of accepting any principles of the Administration forces. Meanwhile there was to be no cessation of hostilities. Douglas entered Ohio, stopped with Chase and roared defiance at Washington demanding to know whether it was peace or war. His attitude was anything but peaceful or conciliatory. In the Lecompton issue he had found a chance to win popularity in the East and North at the expense of the Administration. On the ninth of July Douglas entered Chicago and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. He attacked the Lecompton Constitution because he held it to be unacceptable to the voters of Kansas. He spoke with favor of the Crittenden-Montgomery Amendment which would have sent the constitution back to the people of Kansas. This had been supported by a coalition of insurgent Democrats, Old Line Whigs, Americans and Republicans. Much of his speech was devoted

¹⁶Note: James May-Buchanan, Philadelphia, July 4, 1858. May was anxious to heal the feud with Douglas. He claims to have had an oral statement from Douglas in the presence of others. "There will be no difficulty or misunderstanding if the administration will sustain the Illinois nominations. He said I could refer to the conciliatory speech he made on the 25th day of June. His language and manner convinced me that he was decidedly in favor of conciliation . . ." H. S. P.

In Missouri the Blairs continued their ancient hatred of Buchanan by opposing him. In Michigan Democratic troubles were confined to the eastern part of the State, but the Michigan Democracy did not split until 1860.

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to an attack on the Republicans on the slavery question, to the virtues of principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and his loyalty to it.

After an expensive senatorial campaign with his rival, Abraham Lincoln, Douglas managed to secure his re-election largely because of the Democratic hold-overs in the Illinois legislature. The Illinois Democracy had practically ceased to exist save as an anti-Southern group. The Little Giant had won a victory in which he had shown high qualities of political leadership, but it was a victory fatal to the unity of his party and that party unity was the last bond of union. Even the victory itself proved to be his swan song.

The times demanded more tactful men than the Illinois Senator. The country travelled on the edge of a volcano, and there was need of prudence and caution until settlements might be made which would prevent a crisis in the Union. Douglas could not fill the needs of the hour because in order to retain his prestige at home he found it necessary to refuse and even to thwart Southern aspirations.

In June, 1859, Buchanan had discussed Douglas' attitude on the coming campaign with Slidell. The first part of the letter contained an allusion to the offer of Buchanan to make Slidell minister at Paris. The post was vacant due to the death of Buchanan's old friend, John Y. Mason. Announcement of the offer had evidently gotten into the newspapers contrary to Slidell's wish, and he had asked Buchanan if he had announced it. Buchanan's reply was an excellent illustration of that secretiveness with which he was wont to conduct his business.¹⁷

"No human being," the President wrote, "no member of my cabinet knew that I had received a letter from you touching the French Mission until after the news of your appointment was circulated and telegraphed. To the per-

¹⁷June 24, 1859, H. S. P.

sons who came to me for information I uniformly answered that I was sorry the report was not well founded but that it might be any day, you chose, as you had the mission any time in your power. Several persons told me with what truth I know not, that the information had proceeded from Mr. Butterworth.

"By the time this reaches you you will have seen Mr. Douglas' letter of the 22nd instant explaining his position in regard to the Presidency. It is an odd letter. Is he still in favor of the odious doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty which would enable the first settlers who rush into the Territory to deprive their fellow settlers of their property in slaves through unfriendly territorial legislation, and does he desire to ignore the Dred Scott decision and place the right of property consecrated by the Constitution of the United States without protection in the Territories? If so, it would be more frank at once to say that no Slave State shall be admitted hereafter into the Union. I am sorry to learn, I rather think from a reliable source that our friend Belmont¹⁸ is a decided Douglas man.

"From the letter I would think that Douglas intends to be a candidate before the Charleston Convention. He will not condescend to accept their nomination unless they shall first erect a platform to please himself . . . "

Among the Black papers of the Library of Congress are two papers. The first is a letter dated August 4, 1858. It is interesting to note that the Republican *Times* (New York) for July 31 stated that the editors of the *Union* were frequent callers at the Soldiers' Home where Buchanan spent his evenings during the hot weather. The report also stated that articles were composed there under presidential supervision. The first letter given below speaks of a programme of an article enclosed but the en-

¹⁸Belmont had also been interested in the purchase of Cuba as early as 1854. He and Slidell were related but became estranged.

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closure on the file bears the date September 16, 1859. This was in the fall of the latter year that Black wrote his terrific onslaught against Douglas' article on squatter sovereignty in Harper's Weekly. At any rate the two sources are part of the same "war" and I therefore submit them.¹⁹

"Bedford Springs, 4 August, 1858.

"My dear Sir:

"I have received your letters with that of Roman: and would not suffer myself to be vexed about it. The very infamy of the charge is its best antidote. It will explode into thin air within a brief period, I will not give you the name of my informant, *because he is a good and true man and had no more to do with the slander than you or myself*. His only object was to prevent the withdrawal of the appeal when apprehended from what he had heard for the sake of the administration. Besides, I could not give you the name without a betrayal of confidence.

"Somebody sent me an article from 'the *States*,' commenting upon a letter of Duff Green to the *Union*. I could not find the number and know not whether as alleged, it contains an attack on General Jackson. If so, it was wrong, very wrong to publish it. General Green was his mortal enemy.

"I send you not an article but a programme for an article for the *Union* which I wish you would prepare. I am so much interrupted here that I have not time to do it. Judge Douglas out [*Sic*] to be stripped of his pretension to be the great champion of popular sovereignty. Sufficient attention has not been paid to this point of the case.

"The Ohio Democratic Convention is the death blow to the little Giant in the North West. He and his friends

¹⁹Black Papers, L. C. Buchanan usually went to Bedford Springs for a few days to take the waters each summer. It was also an excellent place for Pennsylvania politics.

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made prodigious efforts in that State. This ought to be prominently presented in the Union. It will have a happy effect over the whole country.

"It is feared by some that Forney will use Koffroth of Somerset to present a minority report to the State Central Committee. They will not, I believe, be called together till the end of this month or the commencement of the next. Could you not prevent him from being used as the tool of Forney? Could you not through some confidential friend in Somerset ascertain what are the sentiments of Mr. Koffroth? I think things look better and better in Penna. Governor Porter is here and believes that the State ticket will be elected; *sed quire de hoc*. We are all well. Give my kind regards to the members of the Cabinet. Ever your friend.

"James Buchanan."

"Please do not suffer my manuscript to be seen by any person except yourself."

"Sept. 16, 1859.

"I shall deal with this allied army, just as the Russians dealt with the allies at Sebastopol—that is, the Russians did not stop to enquire when they fired a broadside whether it hit an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a Turk.' Thus spoke Senator Douglas in his famous speech at Chicago, declaring war against the National Administration. If the National Democrats of Illinois following his example should declare war against him and proclaim that they would not stop to inquire when they fired a broadside whether it hit a black Republican or a Douglas bolter, this would be considered an extreme measure and a high crime against the Illinois Senator who still professes to be a Democrat. The truth is that his pretext for virtually abandoning his party and fighting in concert with his Black Republican Allies is the shal-

lowest that has ever yet been devised by any of those who have travelled the same road before him.

"They all had some more plausible pretext than himself for deserting the Democracy. His pretext is that the great doctrine of popular sovereignty has been violated by a Democratic Congress and he pledges himself to devote his whole future life to its maintenance. His task will be easy; because no Democrat ever disputed this self-evident maxim. It is nothing more than to say the majority shall rule. This principle in its very broadest form has been recognized by the proceedings of Congress in relation to Kansas. We will do the Senator from Illinois the justice to say that we have been informed and believe he was anxious to be relieved from the dilemma in which he had involved himself by accepting cordially the English bill. But Broderick was the lion in the way. He yielded to the California Senator who possesses a much stronger will and more energy of character than himself. This we have always understood to be the true state of the case.

"It must have been a powerful influence which could have caused a man who had been educated in the Democratic faith to oppose a measure like the English Bill based upon the very principle of popular sovereignty especially when he well knew that if this measure had been defeated the Constitution and the Union would have been involved in the most serious danger. Popular sovereignty forsooth! It was a strange comment on this doctrine to refuse to refer the question under the English Bill to the people of Kansas. By this refusal he has actually repudiated the doctrine of popular Sovereignty and this, too, at the very moment when he was pledging his future life to its maintenance. Like other men who have left the Democratic party he has become bewildered and has involved himself in the most absurd contradictions. If the English Bill had been expressly designed to afford Mr. Douglas an honorable opportunity

to escape from the dilemma in which he had placed himself, it could not have been more ingeniously contrived. It was the last plank held out to him and yet he refused it. He has left the Democratic party with his coadjutors in the Senate, Broderick and Stewart; and whatever may be his intention his labors can now only serve to strengthen the Black Republicans. He does not now to save appearances even look one way, whilst he is rowing another.

"We have always preferred the Senate Bill to the English Bill. It would have settled the question more speedily and satisfactorily than the English Bill and would have brought Kansas promptly into the Union as a State. It maintained the great and undisputed Doctrine of popular sovereignty against Mr. Douglas; because in denying the right of the people, if they please, to confer upon their delegates the power to decide whether they will or will not leave the Constitution to a vote that gentleman abridges their power and violates popular sovereignty of the people. Who has authority thus to limit the power of the people? Have they entrusted Mr. Douglas with this prerogative? In most instances it may be wise to submit such a constitution to a popular vote; but no power outside of Kansas has any right to interfere with this question. The doctrine of non-interference has been fully established by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as well as by the Cincinnati platform; and to this the Democratic party must adhere."

The above document is indorsed on back; "Mem. of President." The next section of the draft is in Buchanan's hand, and may have been written at another time.

"Mr. Douglas does not seem to have apprehended the only real question in his case, for he has not once touched it. Under the Kansas-Nebraska Act of May 30, 1854, Congress is 'not to legislate Slavery into any territory or State nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in

their own way, *subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*' The power of the people of a territory over this subject is thus expressly limited by the restrictions of the Supreme Law of the land. Indeed this would have been the case without any such express limitation. What, then, are these limitations? This was a judicial question which could alone be settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. All parties holding different view on the subject looked to this decision with the greatest anxiety knowing that whatever it might be it would terminate the question. Hence every facility was granted under this Act for speedily bringing before the Supreme Court, on writ of Error or appeal 'all cases involving title to slaves'!

"The purpose of this Act was accomplished on the sixth of March, 1857, when the opinion of that Court was delivered. This opinion expressly decides that 'the right of property in a Slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution'. And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over Slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description.

"Thus the rights of property are united with the rights of person and placed on the same ground by the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. And an Act of Congress which deprives a citizen of the United States of his liberty or property because he came himself or brought his property into a particular Territory of the United States and who had committed no offense against the laws, could hardly be dignified with the name of the due process of law . . ."

"And if Congress itself cannot do this. [*Sic*]. If it is beyond the powers conferred on the Federal Government it will be admitted, we presume, that it could not authorize

a territorial Government to execute them. It could confer no power on any local Government, established by its authority, to violate the provisions of the Constitution.

"Thus the question propounded by the Kansas and Nebraska Act;—What are the restrictions imposed by the Constitution of the United States on Congress or the Territorial Legislature in legislating on the question of Slavery in the Territories has been finally and irrevocably settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is clear then that Mr. Douglas has planted himself in direct opposition to the Tribunal. The Status of the Territory is completely fixed from the time it is established until it is about to assume the attributes of a sovereign State; and then in the language of the Cincinnati platform;—'We recognize the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it:—to form a Constitution with or without domestic Slavery and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States'. This is genuine popular sovereignty in opposition to squatter sovereignty."

A third section of the draft follows in Buchanan's or his secretary's hand. Possibly a couple of paragraphs were composed at another time.

"The Missouri compromise was unconstitutional. And why? Because it excluded Slavery in the Territories North of 36°30.

"Now it is sought to enable a Territorial Legislature to make a new Missouri Compromise for itself not only North but South of that Line.

"The Slave holder may go with his property but may be met at the line and informed, that though the Constitution

gives you the right, you shall not enter. You are forbidden by the Territorial Legislature."

Indorsed: "*Mem.*", Buchanan's hand, and below in pencil: "Pres. Buchanan, Mo. Compromise, Slavery."

So terrific were the replies and assaults of the Attorney General upon the Little Giant in 1859 that Senator Clingman²⁰ found it almost impossible to get his friends in North Carolina to uphold Douglas.

It was not unnatural that the Administration should fail to shed copious tears over a defeat of Douglas by Lincoln. Douglas' defeat would give strength to the Illinois Administration Democrats, and as for Lincoln, he had a very ordinary record as Congressman. Few, if any Washington Democrats at that time expected much of him. Seward was regarded as the leading star in the Republican firmament. Hence few worried over a defeat of Douglas—considered by some Democrats a half Republican—by an ex-Congressman in Illinois.

Much has been written of the proscriptions of Douglas men in works of Douglas partisans. There was nothing unusual in such procedure. He had defied the Administration and had to expect that his forces would be treated accordingly. No practical politician expects anything else under similar circumstances. His ambitions were in sharp conflict with certain other leaders who were supporting the President's policy and on whom he looked for continued

²⁰*Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Hon. Thomas L. Clingman*, Raleigh, 1847, p. 450.

Sheahan makes an attempt to laugh at Black's reply in his campaign biography of Douglas but makes practically no attempt to answer Black's arguments. See his *Life of Douglas*, pp. 498-500. Douglas' article on "Sovereignty in the Territories" was published in *Harpers Magazine* for September 1859. Black's masterly reply may be found in *Essays and Speeches of Jeremiah S. Black*, edited by his son Chauncey F. Black, pp. 212-242. Numerous other pamphlets by various authors were published at the time on the issues in dispute.

party service. Buchanan was more lenient than he need have been. His personal attitude on the matter is seen from a letter written in 1860, but which applies to conditions in 1858. In a personal answer to an inquiry of Mr. Hallock, editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, concerning the retention of Mr. Comstock, an Albany editor and office holder, he says:

"In regard to Mr. Comstock; the difficulties of retaining him in office, I can assure you, are almost insurmountable. I do not indulge a proscriptive spirit, and have not removed one in twenty of the Douglas office holders. His father-in-law, Cutts and his brother-in-law, Granger, are still in lucrative offices in this City, and I have no intention of removing either. There are peculiar cases, however, which I cannot overlook, and it appears to me that Mr. Comstock is within that category. Whilst holding one of the best offices in my gift, he is at the same time, as you say 'at the head of the leading Democratic organ' in your State. This organ not only does not sustain the principles of my administration, but is in direct antagonism of them. It maintains political doctrines in violation of the Constitution of the United States as expounded by the Supreme Court. Unless these doctrines in violation of the Constitution of the United States as expounded by the Supreme Court, can be overthrown there never will be a reunion between the Democratic North and the Democratic South or in other words, a Democratic party co-extensive with the Union. Without this, the Constitution and the Union cannot be perpetuated. Under these circumstances how can I remove any other office holder, who is at the same time the Editor of a Journal, using it to oppose my administration on questions which I consider momentous and even vital, should I retain Mr. Comstock? I assure you I have no feeling against that gentleman, but directly the reverse, although his journal has

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classed the friends of Breckinridge, and of course including myself, as disunionists.

"This is the very first letter of the kind I have ever written. I intended to write but a few lines when I commenced; but my pen has run on. I remain,

"Very respectfully your friend,

James Buchanan.

Gerard Hallock, Esquire."

The early months of 1860 brought Buchanan letters pertaining to the delegations which were being selected for the coming convention at Charleston. Ex-Governor David Porter of Pennsylvania was visiting in Texas. He reported that the State was for anybody to defeat Seward, and that candidates which might be satisfactory to the Administration would be well received by that commonwealth.

Some of Buchanan's friends told him that his expressed refusal to be again a candidate had aided the chances of Douglas. It is interesting to note that gentlemen who were not over-fond of Buchanan, such as Clingman, chose to believe that he still hoped for a second nomination.²¹ In Pennsylvania as usual there was a troubled sea. Collector Baker was accused by his foes of selling out the resolutions to the Douglas men. By the time of the departure for Charleston, Robert Tyler claimed 24% of the 58 delegates as men on whom the Administration forces could rely. Connecticut reported a fight, and Massachusetts counted 63 of its 96 delegates as Administration men. New York, as is well known, sent two delegations.

After repeating his decision not to be a candidate again Buchanan, in a letter to a friend set forth his position as "praying Heaven that the Convention may select as their

²¹For a confidential letter to Floyd on the subject, see Auchampaugh, *James Buchanan and His Cabinet on the Eve of Secession*, p. 57, also Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, Vol. II, pp. 286-7. Buchanan was tired and sick of his position.

candidate an able, sound, and conservative Democrat in whose support we can all unite . . . ¹¹²²

It may be that this attitude was at least one of the reasons why Slidell, director of the Administration forces at Charleston, approached Dean Richmond, leader of the Douglas delegates from New York. Slidell vainly attempted to secure Richmond's support for Seymour or Daniel S. Dickinson.

The National Committee was said to have chosen Charleston as the place of the convention because it would be less propitious for Douglas and his followers to accomplish his nomination. Mrs. Pryor, briefly describing the situation, wrote:²³

"The Northern Democrats had heard much of the splendor and elegance in which Charlestonians lived, and of the Arabian hospitality of the South which could ignore all animosities over bread and salt. But Charleston turned a cold shoulder to the delegates from the North. All hearts, however, and all homes were open to the Southerners. They dined with the aristocrats, drove the richly dressed ladies in gay equipages, and were entertained generally with lavish hospitality. All this tended to widen the breach between the sections."

The matter was thus overdone and reacted against the lovers of party harmony.

Although Buchanan was not at the convention he was informed of what was taking place. Halsted found the

²²*American Magazine of History*, Vol. XI, pp. 151, 163.

In writing of the opposition of the Harrisburg Convention to sending Administration men to Charleston, Buchanan declared that all he desired was to have a good, sound Democrat nominated. In referring to the opposition to him at Harrisburg he wrote, "Surely I possess some influence and I shall be in nobody's way. All I desire is to give my aid in the nomination and election of that sound Democrat, whoever he may be who will endeavor the strongest to preserve the Union to defeat Seward . . . if they get a hostile delegation at Harrisburg it does not help anyone or worry me." To Campbell, Nov. 1859. H. S. P. Also see Moore, Vol. X, p. 417.

²³Pryor, Mrs. Roger B., *Reminiscences of Peace and War*, New York, 1905, pp. 95, 96.

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South insisting on an unequivocal platform which would accept the decision in the Dred Scott case. Douglas was hated by that section. One delegate said that the South would as soon have Seward as Douglas. Guthrie and Hunter loomed as compromise candidates. Douglas did as he had done in 1856. He had instructed his friends to withdraw his name from the list if such withdrawal were necessary to save the party's unity. But his friend Richardson and others were so angry at the attitude and demands of the South upon them that they did not do it. Later Douglas, by his acceptance of the nomination of the Baltimore convention concurred in their decision. The failure of the convention to accept the majority report of the platform committee led to secession of Southern delegates under the leadership of Yancey. The convention finally adjourned until June to meet elsewhere. This meant another month of skirmishing. Dix and Buchanan held that the failure of the Wood delegation from New York to receive seats in the Charleston convention was a fatal error. May saw much activity directed towards fusion but little was actually done. The anti-Douglas faction of New York was bitter over the rejection of their delegates at Charleston.

The following document is valuable because its author, Senator Slidell, had just been field marshal of the Administration forces at the Charleston Convention:

"A LETTER FROM SENATOR SLIDELL."²⁴

"Below will be found an able and interesting letter which the existing condition of the affairs of the Democratic party has drawn from the Hon. John Slidell, of Louisiana:

Senate Chamber, May 19, 1860.

"The members of the State democratic convention having been called by the State central executive committee to

²⁴Washington *Constitution*, May 26, 1860.

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reassemble at Baton Rouge to receive the report of their delegates to the late Charleston Convention and to take such action as may be deemed necessary and proper, I hope that it will not be considered intrusive on my part to submit a few brief suggestions as to the course to be pursued by the democracy of Louisiana at this critical moment, when not only the organization of the great national democratic party, but the very existence of the Union is endangered. Had I no other motive for now addressing you it would suffice that I desire to place on record my full, unqualified, and emphatic approval of the action of the Louisiana delegation at Charleston, to identify my political existence with theirs, to share all their responsibilities, to receive in common with them the endorsement and justification which I know they merit and am confident they will receive from the Convention, or, if I be disappointed in this just expectation, to submit with deference to the implied censure which the failure to sustain them will convey. Although I had not the honor to be a member of our delegation, I was present at Charleston during the sitting of the Convention, had daily communication with our delegates, and, while on no occasion present at their deliberations, had full and free conversation with most of them on the questions pending before the Convention. I have not the presumption to suppose that my counsels exercised any influence on their action; their high character, sound judgment, independent position, political and social, forbid such an idea; but I say, with pride and pleasure, that I found entire sympathy and almost perfect coincidence in the views we mutually entertained and expressed. They will render you a full account of their stewardship, and give you details of the proceedings at Charleston, into which the limits of an ordinary letter will not permit me to enter. But there are a few salient points necessary for a proper understanding of the position in which our delegates found themselves, to

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which I wish to allude. Experience has demonstrated that the organic basis of representation in National Conventions is essentially false, that it does not secure a fair reflex of democratic principles, or offer a fair probability of the selection of candidates acceptable to the states by whose votes in the electoral colleges their election can only be effected. States hopelessly abolitionized, such as Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Michigan, and Wisconsin, neutralizing the votes of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. This injustice must be remedied by the adoption of some more equitable basis of representation, or the slave States must hereafter refuse to enter into a National Convention. If besides the votes as cast at present an additional vote were given to each State for every democratic senator and representative it might at the time have in Congress, this objection would be in a great degree removed. But this inherent difficulty in the basis of representation was greatly aggravated by the unscrupulous manner in which the majority, composed almost entirely of delegates from States not to be relied on for electoral votes, exercised their power. The first manifestation of this disposition was in the adoption of a rule, without precedent in any previous Convention, by which the majority were enabled to exercise an absolute authority in all the States where the opponents of a sound platform and the friends of Judge Douglas had the ascendancy; thus stifling in the delegations of New York, Ohio, and Indiana at least twenty-five votes that would otherwise have been cast for the resolutions reported by seventeen States and for another candidate than Douglas, while Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the only other states that can be relied on for democratic votes at the presidential election, were deprived of the power to give a unit vote. The unfairness was the more flagrant in the case of New Jersey, whose delegates had been recommended not to di-

vide their vote; for when the distinguished chairman of the Convention decided that the rule authorized the majority to control the entire vote, his decision was overruled, on appeal, by a majority of four; while, if New Jersey had been allowed to vote on this question, the decision of the chair would have been sustained.

"Seventeen States adopted a platform of principles which they submitted to the Convention—these States cast one hundred and twenty-seven electoral votes, every one of which might be relied on for our nominees in November had this platform been adopted, with candidates who could honestly and honorably stand upon it. Pennsylvania and New Jersey—the only free States—California and Oregon excepted—upon whose support we can confidently rely in the presidential contest, were not represented in the committee on resolutions, because the persons selected for that purpose did not choose to carry out what they well knew to be the wishes of their respective delegations. Had they been properly represented in the committee, the majority report, with immaterial modifications, would have had the unanimous support of the nineteen States whose electoral votes may be counted on in November. The delegations of eight States, as you know, retired when the majority of the committee refused to adopt resolutions which they considered indispensable to their safety. Having thus retired, they awaited the further action of the Convention in the hope, rather than the expectation, that reflection would induce the majority to retrace their steps and to present to the retiring States a platform which they could accept with honor. Had this been done, the retiring delegations would have resumed their seats, as they had, and still unquestionably have, the right to do. The adjournment to Baltimore leaves everything precisely in the same state it would have been had it been only to the next day, and not for six weeks.

“What, then, should our State Convention do? I cannot better answer than by referring you to an address on the subject, signed by a number of senators and representatives, and of which I send you a copy, recommending it to the careful consideration of the Convention with this qualification only, that I think our delegates should meet at Richmond and adjourn over to a day subsequent to that fixed for the meeting of the Convention at Baltimore, and this, I believe, was the intention of the signers of the address; although it is not clearly so expressed, it certainly was mine. We have this day received the news of the nomination made by the black-Republican convention at Chicago. I had supposed that Mr. Seward would certainly have been their candidate for the Presidency. Had the Charleston Convention resulted in the harmonious adoption of a sound platform, and the nomination of a man pledged to carry out its principles, I would have preferred that a direct issue should have been presented to the people of the free States, by the nomination of Mr. Seward. That issue would, in my opinion, have been: Shall the Union be preserved or destroyed? Mr. Lincoln may be, and probably is, as hostile to the institution of slavery as Mr. Seward, but his record on that subject, which I have not yet had the opportunity to examine, is comparatively obscure and incomplete; his election, especially if the contest be complicated by any division in our own ranks, would not present as absolute and unmistakable a test of Northern sentiment as that of Mr. Seward. In conclusion, permit me to avail myself of this opportunity of returning my heartfelt thanks to the Convention for the signal honor conferred on me at their previous meeting in March. I shall ever treasure it as the proudest recollection of my life. What may yet remain of that life shall be devoted to the effort to prove myself worthy of the confidence of Louisiana, and of that democracy of which I have ever been, in weal or in woe, in sunshine or in storm, an un-

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flinching, and, I trust, not an inefficient supporter. Yours,
faithfully,

John Slidell.

"To Gen. A. G. Carter,
President of State Democratic Committee,
Clinton, Louisiana."

At Baltimore matters were little better than at Charleston. Disputes arose over seating contesting Southern delegates. Some of the Pennsylvania men left. Buchanan's confidential friend, Hiram Swarr, wrote Buchanan concerning the matter. In his book, published in 1866, Buchanan held that had Virginia and the border States remained they would have made it impossible for a candidate so obnoxious to their principles to obtain the nomination. The nomination of Lincoln by the Republicans made the problem more difficult for the Democrats in Pennsylvania. In commenting on the nomination of Judge Douglas the President, when writing the history of his Administration, made some very pertinent remarks.²⁵

"These proceedings had now rendered it clear that Mr. Douglas could not, as he did not, receive one electoral vote from any of the sixteen Democratic States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, California, and Oregon. He owed his nomination almost exclusively to States which could not give him a single electoral vote . . . "

Directly after the Baltimore Convention Fernando Wood joined the Douglas forces. Still there was hope of fusion in New York. Yancey in a last attempt to save Southern Rights within the Union campaigned in the North where he urged a fusion ticket to defeat Lincoln. While this result was accomplished in New York, it left the Lincoln

²⁵Buchanan, James, *Buchanan Administration in Eve of the Rebellion*, New York, 1866, p. 81.

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forces still in the lead. The Douglas vote in three border States drew enough support from the Breckinridge forces to cause them to cast their electoral vote for the Constitutional Union party. The other States south of Mason-Dixon Line were a unit for Breckinridge.

Buchanan took no public part in the campaign except to deliver a speech in which he made his attitude clear on the issue before the country. His voice, according to one correspondent lacked the tone of former years, and he was interrupted from time to time by favorable and unfavorable comments. The speech was a very able document, and was in the main well received by the audience, and by his friends who read it later. The ideas are more briefly stated in a letter which he had written four days previous:

"The equality of the States in the Territories is a truly Democratic doctrine which must eventually prevail. The Supreme Court of the United States—a co-ordinate branch of the Government, to which the decision of this question constitutionally belongs, have affirmed this equality and placed property in slaves upon the same footing with all other property. Without self-degradation the Southern States cannot abandon this equality and hence they are now all in a flame. Non-intervention on the part of Congress in the Territories, unless accompanied by non-intervention on the part of the territorial legislatures amounts to nothing more in effect than to transfer the Wilmot Proviso from Congress to these legislatures. Whilst the South cannot surrender their rights as co-equal States in the Confederacy, what injury can it possibly do to the Northern States to yield this great Democratic principle? If they should not do this then we will have the Democratic party divided, South and North, by a geographical line, just as the Methodist Church has been divided and another link binding the Union together will be broken. No person can fairly contend that either assemblage at Baltimore at the time nomi-

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nations were made was a Democratic National Convention; hence, every Democrat is free to choose between the two candidates. These are in brief my sentiments. I regret that they so widely differ from your own. You have taken your own course, which you have a perfect right to do and you will, I know, extend a similar privilege to myself."

Buchanan's reasoning would lead to the conclusion that the other two parties were defying the Constitution. He naturally voted for the candidate with whom he was in agreement on the status of slavery in the territories. His former distant attitude towards Breckinridge was now somewhat modified.

Many people of the South seem to have held an unreasoning conviction that Lincoln could not be elected. A letter from Paris held that the Emperor and other statesmen of the Empire would not be unfriendly to a Southern Confederacy. Their attitude was based on expected economic benefits. By the sixteenth of July John A. Dix thought Lincoln would be elected. Evidently this did not convince Buchanan because on September 13, he wrote to his trusted friend, William Carpenter of Lancaster:²⁶

"I am just now in my own mind chalking out the course of my last message. In it, should Providence continue his blessing, I shall have nothing to record but uninterrupted success for my country. The trouble about the slavery question would all have been avoided, had the country submitted to the decision of the Supreme Court delivered two or three days after my inaugural. To this all law abiding men will come in less than one year. Meanwhile, I know I have lost political friends in Lancaster for sustaining the empire of the Constitution, but all will yet be well."

Perhaps the President thought that the electoral college would fail to give a majority for the Republicans. Then

²⁶*Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 5 and 6, IV, "William Frederick Wornor", "Unpublished Letters of James Buchanan, Fifteenth President of the United States." Lancaster, Penn., 1928, p. 72.

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with each State voting as a unit of one vote in the House some other candidate might emerge. Perhaps he thought that even there no majority would be obtained before the fourth of March. In that case the contest would go to the Senate where the issue would be between contending vice-presidential nominees. In such an event the victory would be fairly likely to lie with Lane, the candidate favored by the South and the Administration. Perhaps the President, as was at times his wont, was merely expressing a hope that was against his expectation. The statement in itself does not indicate whom he thought would be President. He may have held that, with the prospect of disunion before them, the conservatives would rally for the Union, and by arousing public opinion force the victorious party, whatever it should be, to accept the decision of the court in preference to separation or war.²⁷ There is no doubt that he hoped that a calamity could be averted.

In answer to a speech made by Douglas in Concord in early August in which he said that Buchanan told him that he would cut off every friend he had if he did not support the Lecompton Constitution, Buchanan wrote a denial in a letter to H. M. Smith of Virginia. The denial should be read to mean that Buchanan did not say he would remove all of Douglas' followers. Buchanan did not affirm or deny the conversation quoted earlier in this study in which he had reminded the Illinois Senator of the fate of bolters like Rives and Tallmadge. The President also said, "Besides, I have not removed one in ten of his friends and none of his relatives. Even among those of his friends who have ren-

²⁷Even beyond the possibility of the House there was another line of defense for the Democrats. If the House failed to find a majority of the States the contest would be carried to the Senate. Here the Democrats believed they could elect Lane over Hamlin and thus secure the Presidency.

Buchanan in writing his book did not mention the possibility of the election being thrown into the House. He dwelt upon the fatal consequences of the lack of agreement between the two wings of the party.

dered themselves prominently hostile to the measures of the administration, a majority still remain in office."

In September there were still prospects and hopes of fusion between the Breckinridge and Douglas forces in some of the Northern States. Another possible explanation of Buchanan's attitude was his belief that the people of the country, recoiling from the yawning gulf of disunion, would rally to his standard. Thus the country would be saved from both Southern hotspurs and Northern abolitionists.

But the abolitionists and hotspurs had their way. The former won a majority of the electoral vote and the latter then tried their experiment in secession. Douglas not only held Lincoln's hat at the inauguration but by the spring of 1861 had practically become a Republican. A few weeks later he was dead. Buchanan wended a triumphal journey back to Lancaster. Had the route led through Massachusetts things might have been different but the people of Maryland and southern Pennsylvania, like most border State folks, wanted peace and rejoiced with the aged statesman who had kept it against steady odds and much abuse. After Fort Sumter was fired upon Buchanan sided with the war Democrats on the ground that South Carolina had no just reason for bringing on a crisis by attacking the fort. He had been perhaps half-unconsciously coming to that point of view ever since December 1860. It must also be stated that he did not have the same antipathy toward the entire South. He loved Virginia and looked upon her more as a victim than an author of the struggle he had striven so earnestly to avoid.

The passing of the years seems only to have deepened Buchanan's conviction that Douglas played the leading role in breaking the Democracy. To Mrs. J. J. Roosevelt in 1863, when he was writing his book he wrote,

"... Until I began to write history, I never fully appreciated the part which those called Douglas Democrats had

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in hastening the catastrophe. Had they, at Charleston, simply consented to recognize the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, the Democratic party would not have been divided. This was all the Southern delegates insisted. . . . The delegation from New York, headed by Dean Richmond, by their refusal to submit to the constitutional law of the land, as declared by the Supreme Court, committed a fatal blunder. It would be curious to speculate what might have been the present condition, had Fernando Wood, instead of Dean Richmond delegates, been admitted at Charleston. Still all this affords no excuse for the conduct of the secessionists and their attack on Fort Sumter."

Mr. Brown of Lancaster, a friend of Buchanan's, in speaking of Douglas to a reporter in 1868, in substance said:²⁸

"Mr. Buchanan disliked Douglas more than any contemporary Democrat. The men were equally self-measuring, but Buchanan disliked the manner of Douglas, attributing to his novel dogmas the breach in the Democratic ranks, which hastened the war and covered his own administration with ignominy."

It is probably safe to say that Douglas was in class "A" of Buchanan's aversion. This was not merely because he was numbered among his political opponents, for Buchanan often forgave his political enemies. But Douglas had defied him and he had nearly wrecked his party. And he had fought worse still civilization he regarded as necessary for the safety of the country, in such a way as to cast a shadow upon Buchanan as an historical figure. To a man like Buchanan to whom future history and the good opinion of posterity was a matter of such extreme solicitude, an attitude like that of Douglas was the offense which he could not forget.

²⁸Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, Vol. II, p. 603.

Buchanan had done what any other head of a party would have done in similar circumstances. He had been attacked by a party of insurgents, and he had conducted a most thorough offensive. One can detect a note of wonder all the way through on the part of Buchanan that Douglas chose to attack him. He had never done Douglas any personal evil. Considering himself wantonly attacked by the most overbearing and ambitious political barons of the Northern Democracy, Buchanan no doubt felt forced to depend in a greater measure on the Southern position of the party than ever. Bright of Indiana also remained high in his favor until 1860. Supported by Slidell who could do field work as well as render powerful support in Congress, Buchanan waged a vigorous war. The failure of Douglas to accept the English Bill made reconciliation almost impossible.

A review of the political activities of Douglas and Buchanan would indicate that Buchanan showed the greater political ability. In spite of the fact that Douglas had some gifts of the demagogue which Buchanan did not possess, Buchanan was the more successful.

Buchanan organized a political machine or group, which was devoted to his advancement in Pennsylvania. It placed him in the Senate. But Buchanan in the 30's would have more. Having a liking for the Southern type of country gentry-statesmen it was not difficult for him to be willing to support their stand for the just protection of their constitutional rights. By 1838 he boldly declared, "I do not desire to maintain myself at home, unless I can do it with regard to the rights of the South." This did not mean that Buchanan would neglect home interest, but it indicated that he did not consider it worth while to remain in the arena of Federal politics unless he could harmonize the interest of the Keystone and the region south of Mason-Dixon line.

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Douglas also had a machine but he was willing to maintain himself in his own State, come what would. That being done, he would see what could be accomplished with the Southern politicians and their desires.

Slidell understood Douglas' situation and his character.²⁹ He knew his ambitions, his great self confidence, his disposition to plot and fight. He could see that conditions in Illinois were reaching the point where Douglas would have to nationalize and radicalize the Democratic party more and more. This process was not to Southern interests. Moreover Slidell seems to have had a personal or temperamental reason for distrusting and disliking the Little Giant. Some Southerners never seem to have sensed this condition, or if they did, were not inclined to evaluate the situation in proper perspective. Buchanan could get along with leaders. Douglas had periods of arrogance. Indeed his desire to dominate was often too ill-concealed from older men who were powerful in party circles.

Douglas tried to concoct a remedy in 1854, which would aid the Democrats in Illinois. Some writers believe the Territory was divided to gain the support of Atchison and the South. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill would have given him political prestige, increased the Northwest in size and population, and made Chicago an even greater railroad center. It seemed at the time to offer something to the South but in this respect it proved to be mere magic and not medicine. Hence by 1856 many Southerners regarded Douglas as an unsound man. Douglas had overreached himself and failed.

Buchanan on the other hand played a more sensible and hence a more clever game. As a result he finally had the nomination given to him without any personal effort. In 1856 he was not very anxious about the nomination, but the

²⁹Professor Sears notes that Slidell who spent his last years in France, "came to think once more with kindness of Stephen A. Douglas," Sears, *John Slidell* p. 235.

forces he had set in motion, both in the Keystone and the South, kept working without any active attempt of his to secure the nomination.

Pennsylvania was needed to carry the election. Buchanan's past utterances, and his friends inside the Keystone and out could put Buchanan forward as a man who had been devoted to Southern interest above most Northern men. Sliedell used this line of attack. In 1856 he and some Senators were thus enabled to secure Buchanan's nomination. Thus by adjusting friction between Pennsylvania and the South, including differences on tariffs and toleration for slavery, Buchanan enabled his friends to successfully place his nomination before the people and reach the White House.

Douglas, on the other hand, adopted a more positive programme in trying to tie the South with his Western group. His scheme of 1854 had to be shrouded in ambiguities in 1856. By 1858 he had to break with part of the Southern leaders and the Administration to reaffirm the interpretation he played in that doctrine in 1856 in Illinois. Had he failed at that time to keep control of his own State, he would have been at least temporarily eclipsed as a national figure. In order to hold his own following now becoming more radical, he had to refuse the English Bill which had been offered by the Administration as a compromise. By 1860 one of the men who was responsible for this refusal, Senator Broderick, of California, was dead. By that year Douglas was in fact hardly more than a Northern sectional candidate and not even all of that section supported him. In spite of the fact that some Southern men were for him, he was to many others little better than Seward or Fremont. The South would not bow to the Western arrogance of a proscribed leader's delegates at Charleston. Worse still, the Douglas delegates were snubbed. In the 1860 campaign the large vote of the Northern moderates could get him nowhere because of their distribution. His chances which had been

already doubtful by 1856 were hopeless in 1860. By the spring of 1861 he was to most intents and purposes a Republican of the more moderate type.

The story of Douglas is that of a political Sampson. His Delilah was a tormenting political ambition which could find no satisfaction save in enjoyment of the highest offices. His desire to become President became increasingly difficult of fulfillment after 1854. He found security at home a prime necessity for further advancement. By 1856 Slidell, who penetrated his situation, ambitions and designs, pronounced him Democratically unsound. Others in the North either through jealousy or because of rival ambitions, which his career crossed, were determined to thwart him in his quest of the Presidency. His hostility to the regular Democrats on the Kansas issue left a coalition, which had been steadily building for a long time, powerful enough to prevent him from becoming President. Douglas, maddened to fury, tried to break these shackles by an appeal to the masses of the North. Later, at Charleston, his friends prevented his withdrawal and he acquiesced in their action by allowing himself a nomination at Baltimore and a campaign. The result was that he was held in bondage, and denied the achievement of his great ambition, by the combined opposition of his foes. Nevertheless he was strong enough to push asunder the pillars of their temple and the crash of the ancient Democratic party but presaged the greater destruction of "these United States."

EARLY TRAILS OF EASTERN ILLINOIS

BY ADIN BABER

PREFACE

Tracing the locations of ancient traces, early trails, and pioneer roads has long been a hobby of mine. I write these monographs for my own pleasure; and to record my findings,—for those interested. I have tried to be not too tedious and prolix but to give enough data to be easily followed.

In general, roads follow lines of least resistance. The Indians had a network of trails following watersheds and water courses; and many of these were widened into pioneer roads, to become the location of present day highways.

Our sources of information have been: First, authentic secondary records, as compiled by the Illinois State Historical Society and accounts and histories by reputable authors and qualified authorities. These have been of great value in order to get the general historical setting. Hulbert's volumes have been the source of much trail and portage lore.

Second, early maps and gazetteers of Illinois. Copies of maps made by early explorers and travelers have been examined for the location of trails, roads and springs. These helped some by giving the general route, but a trail as designated by a dotted line could miss an entire county in which it actually ran. Local county maps are better. Gazetteers, including some by Peck that the author owns, are not of much value. They describe countries, counties, climates, etc.

Third, state laws. These early statutes helped some as state roads were usually provided for on ways that had long been travelled. Their locations, however, were not definite;

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were usually left to viewers to locate "by the nearest and best route." Surveys by the Government were of no use.

Fourth, original source records of commissioners' courts in several counties. These were fairly satisfactory only, many early records were lost or destroyed.

Fifth, county histories of the counties along the line of travel. These we examined specifically for the earliest settlements on the theory that they would be on or near the trails. Of course, early roads soon connected these settlements which must not be confused with the trails over which the pioneers came. Records of early fords were considered good evidence. Fords determined the actual crossing places of the larger streams. Groves, especially those on the prairie, became the mecca of travellers, and the site of the homesteads of settlers because of the proximity of fuel. Springs and licks were always gathering places for people and game and hunters. Noted springs were often a day's walk apart.

Sixth, relief maps, showing rivers and streams and their headwaters and the intervening watersheds. Watersheds are extremely important in trail finding, also high level bluffs alongside river bottoms.

Seventh, soil survey maps put out by the University of Illinois show by the quality of soil, land and places probably formerly covered with woods.

Eighth, tradition. I find tradition generally based upon enough reliable information to be valuable. A man tells of his grandfather or great grandfather coming in from such and such a way, or tells where he crossed a river, or had a campsite, etc.

Ninth, actual search and inspection of suspected locations. I find it very easy when some part of a trail is exactly located, to trace it out across the country. The evidence is a streak of discolored earth across the fields where farmers have plowed in the spring, or grass grown ridges, or an open way through a wood covered with, at most, only

small trees, or piles of stones on the banks of a creek, the ruins of rude bridge abutments, or ancient apple trees on a hill, or lonesome evergreens standing in a field, or hedge-rows on a bias. Many are the clues that help a careful pathfinder to find an ancient abandoned road which in turn may be the place of an earlier trail.

FORT DETROIT-KASKASKIA TRAIL

Squeak of violin and sound of revelry and dancing and the tired and trailworn voyagers quickened and hastened forward; some to the warmth and companionship of the big store, some to their homes and to later find their families at the dance, and some on urgent express business to deliver the messages from the Governor at far off Quebec to the Commandant. The time was the middle of the eighteenth century, the place was the old French settlement of Kaskaskia. Our *couriers de bois* had just come in over the long trail by the shortest way from Fort Detroit. It is about that old Fort Detroit-Kaskaskia Trail that this is written, and especially that portion that was later confined within the borders of Illinois.

Parkman says: "French America had two heads, one among the snows of Canada, and one among the canebreaks of Louisiana; these vital points were feebly connected by a chain of military posts." Such is our picture. Celeron was planting his leaden plates; and Gist and Croghan were preparing to undo his work. Then came the long French and Indian War, and the English used this trail for a few years. Then came the Revolutionary War and Clark's successful conquest of the old Northwest. After that, there was no connection between the Illinois country and Canada; portions of the old trail fell into disuse and the prairie grass grew green again upon it, but in spots where camp fires had glowed, the blue grass had crept in and it stayed. Later the Americans came in from the east and many portions of this

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trail were used locally, and the New Englanders skirting Lake Erie hit it on the Maumee and followed it down the Wabash to settle in Illinois.

All students of history of the early Northwest Territory know that there was a much-used line of travel between Kaskaskia and Detroit by the trails up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers and around the end of Lake Michigan and across the territory that was later Michigan. Also many voyageurs went from Detroit southwestwardly up the Maumee river and down the Wabash river to Vincennes and across the State of Illinois by the old Vincennes-Kaskaskia trail; and this route could be shortened by those in a hurry by using Indian trails running almost directly from the place where the Wabash river turned south just east of present Danville, Illinois, down southwestwardly across the Illinois prairies to Walnut Point in present Marion County. This was not one narrow gauge of travel, but, as any student of early trails knows, a trail may be several miles wide, or converge at a ford or pass, or branch off to favorite campgrounds, or take a high road in wet season, or a dry trail in summer time. In general, this route followed the watershed of Illinois that lies between the Kaskaskia river and its tributaries on the west, and the tributaries of the Wabash on the east. The herds of buffalo must have grazed northward on this divide in the early springs when the valleys were wet. Hulbert names the buffalo as the greatest pathfinder on the North American continent.

The Indians had probably used this way since time immemorial but it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century and the French settled Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Fort Chartres, Vincennes, and Massac that white men used this trail. The traffic must have consisted entirely of foot passengers, horsemen and packtrains. There were probably no wheel vehicles, at least, until the Yankee settlers began coming in.

The writer has been over this entire trail from one end to the other. Not all at one time, but on several different excursions. The way along the Wabash river is easily found. Along the Maumee river the old unused canal follows the way. From Kaskaskia to Nashville, Illinois, the present roads concur often with Clark's and Bowman's journals. From Nashville to the northeast, any one can first locate the broad ridge passing near Irvington, and careful search finds evidence of trails. From southeastwardly of Centralia to Xenia or Iuka the going is more difficult but possible. The difficult points are in Cumberland, Effingham and Jasper counties; but all this unravels; there are two or three ways through these counties that show evidence of early travel.

Let us now return to our travellers and sit with them at the big open fire in the store and listen to the tales of the trail. Pierre LeBourdais, the loquacious one, just from his belated supper at the tavern, is ready to talk. He was born and reared in a French Canadian backwoods and is a master hunter, trapper and boatsman. His companion is but recently over from Old France, and sits apart, silent. He is on some mysterious errand for his King and must needs hurry on down the Mississippi tomorrow. Pierre, who has guided him this far south, is now of vicarious importance to his audience.

Mostly French they are, one a trader, who has brought some Spanish mares from the southwest and plans to take them to a better market at Vincennes, others are hunters and trappers from off the long Missouri river and one has even been to the far Platte river. Another sits there, a swarthy man, a Spaniard. Some Indians stand stolidly by. One other, dressed in leather with a coonskin cap, sits with his long rifle and takes no part. He does not seem to understand this language. His home is far away on the upper Yadkin. The messenger from Old France observes him,

sees his rifle is of English make, and frowns. The English Colonies are too enterprising!

He had felt their influence the day LeBourdais and his band had brought him away from Fort Detroit. On the north bank of the Maumee river they had encountered some unfriendly Iroquois. But before any trouble started, a great storm, a cyclone, had roared and twisted its way across near them and all had scampered for safety. Many years later (1794) a great battle at this place between the Americans, led by "Mad Anthony" Wayne, and the Indians, led by Little Turtle, was known as the battle of "Fallen Timbers."

A few days later they reached the carrying place where Fort Wayne now stands. Over this ground Hamilton hauled his heavy boats and guns and provisions in 1778 on his march to recapture Vincennes. He wrote to Haldimand: "This carrying place is free from any obstructions but what the carelessness and ignorance of the French have left and would leave from generation to generation."

From this famous portage, our party continued on down the north side of the Oubache (Wabash) River and camped at the little trading village of Ouitannon. Thence onward and crossed the Big Pine Creek at what was later called Big Pine Ford. The trail from this ford westward led out through a deep defile with precipitous sides. In this locality the Indians, many years later, (1786) were waiting to attack General Clark's army as they were travelling up the Wabash river from Vincennes; but the army disbanded before the Indians were reached, and no battle was fought. Then again in 1811 the Indians lay in ambush to attack Harrison's army, but Harrison, under the guidance of M. Cicotte, crossed at a ford a few miles north up Big Pine about one and one-half miles northeast of Carbondale, Indiana. The place was thenceforward known as "Army Ford." Cicotte achieved local fame as a trader and busi-

ness man of Warren County, Indiana, and is buried at Independence, Indiana.

From the Big Pine ford the trail ran southwestwardly through Warren County paralleling the river. Sometimes the path led along the brow of the second bank and sometimes came down to skirt the edge of the bottoms. Several streams were crossed with ease because all have gravelly bottoms. Where the river runs southeastward toward Covington our party left it and passed southwardly through Section 28 and between Sections 33 and 34.

Our narrator, LeBourdais, with a twinkle in his eye and with the possible design of depreciating the virtues of one of his boon companions in the eyes of a certain Kaskaskia maiden upon whom our hero has allowed his own thoughts to dwell, tells this: A large party had accompanied them from Ouitannon with the intention of going to the Salt Springs on the upper Vermilion. These Salt Springs were near present Catlin and, at one time, were the center of all business activity of Vermilion and Edgar Counties. LeBourdais' companion, in order to be a little longer in the company of one of the young ladies of the salt making party, turned westward at this point and went into the large Piankashaw village where the city of Danville, Illinois, now is. They crossed the north fork of the Vermilion river at the west side of present Danville and went directly southwestwardly to the ford of the middle fork in the North one-half of Section 16, Township 19 North, Range 12 West, thence curved around south and to the east, crossed Salt Fork at the old ford on the north line of Section 20. From here LeBourdais' companion had followed an old trail westward to near present Bement and thence southward, passed near Lovington and Sullivan and on to the high ground east of Windsor and met his companion at the Big Spring near the ford in the southeast corner of Shelby County, Illinois.

EARLY TRAILS OF EASTERN ILLINOIS

To go back to the main line of travel, our party went southward out of Warren and into present Vermilion County. Here they camped at the spring on Spring Creek. To this day, the passing motorist may stop and drink where the water gushes forth from the large tree. At this point, the traffic was unusually heavy because many Indians lived in the Vermilion river territory. Then, too, many Indians came to gather the red clay along the river banks to paint their faces. This was the origin of the name Vermilion, the French translated the Indian equivalent of red into their own tongue.

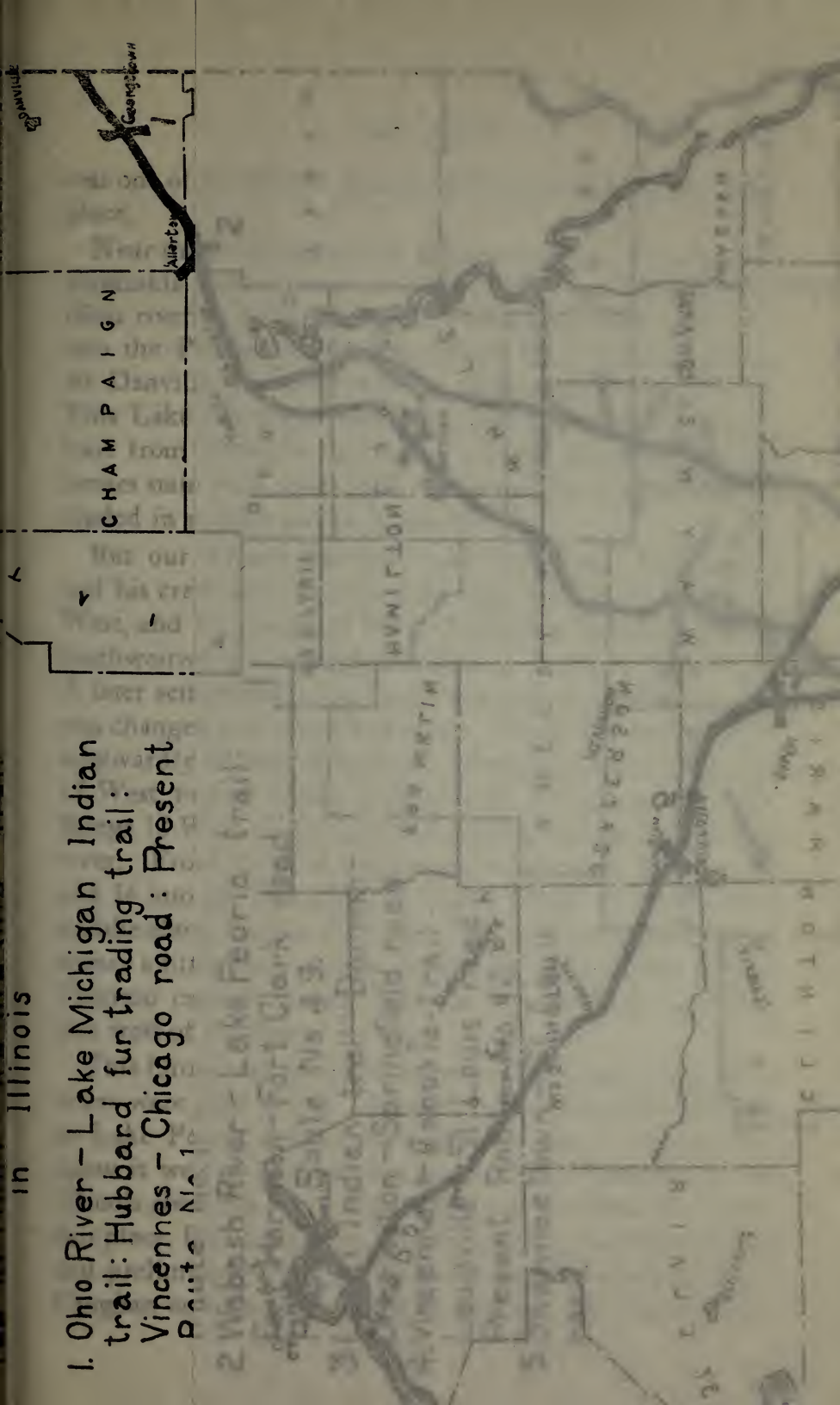
Turning southwestward here, we pass through a locality that General Harrison later marched through on his way to the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe. He passed north near present Rileysburg, and on northward to camp at Gopher Hill. Here two men of his army died and were buried. This was the beginning of the present Gopher Hill Cemetery. Harrison went the direction whence we came but he followed a parallel trail a few miles from the river, passing the ends of the river gullies. It went through Sections 6, 7, 31, 29, 28, 22, 23, 24, 18, 9, 10, etc. To this day several old houses setting on a bias mark the route.

LeBourdais and his crowd crossed the present Indiana-Illinois state line at about the south side of Section 6, Township 18 North, Range 10 West of the 2nd P. M., thence southwestwardly to a ford of the Vermilion river on Section 12, Township 18 North, Range 11 West, near the present crossing of the T. S. L. & S. W. Railroad, through onto the ridge in Section 15 and high knob in the southwest quarter of the same section. Thence directly southwestwardly to present Georgetown. This part of the trail later became an important highway between Georgetown and Perrysville on the Wabash. A plank road was built over which settlers travelled to the westward and farmers hauled their produce to be loaded on the riverboats at Perrysville. Pork packing

1. Ohio River - Lake Michigan Indian trail: Hubbard fur trading trail: Vincennes - Chicago road: Present route No. 1

2. Wabash River - Lake Peoria trail: Fort Harrison - Fort Clark road: Present route No. 43.

3. Indian trail: Dunkin - Springfield road: Present route No. 43. Vincennes - Chicago road: Present route No. 43. Present route No. 43.



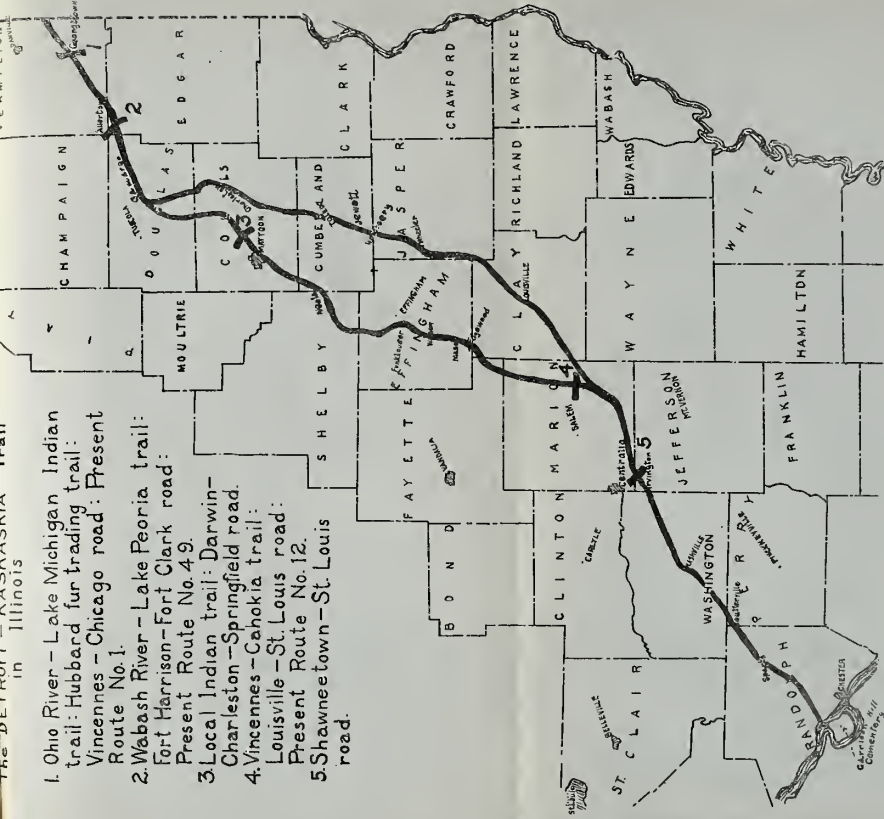
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1. Ohio River - Lake Michigan Indian trail: Hubbard fur trading trail:
Vincennes - Chicago road: Present Route No. 1.
2. Wabash River - Lake Peoria trail:
Fort Harrison - Fort Clark road:
Present Route No. 49.
3. Local Indian trail: Darwin-
Charleston - Springfield road.
4. Vincennes - Cahokia trail:
Louisville - St. Louis road:
Present Route No. 12.
5. Shawneetown - St. Louis
road.



was one of the chief industries to be carried on at the latter place.

Near the present square in Georgetown, our Fort Detroit-Kaskaskia trail crossed an Indian trail that ran from the Ohio river to Lake Michigan. This trail went northward into the Piankashaw village where Danville now stands. At Danville, it intersected the other branch of our trail. This Lake Michigan trail was later known as Hubbard's trail from Danville north and became the Chicago-Vincennes state road about 1832. Many parts of it are now included in present paved Route No. 1.

But our French couriers must hurry on. LeBourdais and his crew went westward through Section 31, Range 11 West, and 36, Range 12 West, Township 18 North, thence southwestwardly through Sections 2, 3, 10, 9, 16 into 17. A later settlement at this point was named Chillicothe, but was changed and is now Indianola. From Indianola, southwestwardly through Section 19, Township 17 North, Range 12 West, to near center of Section 25, Township 17 North, Range 13 West, an ancient ford crosses the Little Vermilion river. From the ford southwestward through Sections 35 and 34 into 33, Township 17 North, Range 13 West, about middle above Section 33, crossed into present Edgar County, thence a little south of west, passing just north of the present Palermo crossroads; and into the famous Hickory Grove just west of Palermo.

This Grove was a noted campground and our weary travellers were glad to rest. An Indian trail from the Wabash to Lake Peoria crossed through this grove. LeBourdais knew it well as he had often gone from Vincennes to the Illinois river this way. Tradition, well founded, has it that this place, Hickory Grove, was the scene of the first meeting and preliminary treaty between the English agent, General Croghan and the famous Indian warrior, Pontiac in 1763.

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Running across the north part of Edgar County and through Douglas County and southwestward is a great ridge or glacial moraine. The trail ran from Palermo westward on this ridge through the northern half of Sections 9, 8, 7, Township 16 North, Range 14 West, and followed the ridge all the way southwest to present Camargo. This town is one of the oldest in this part of the country. As the weather was dry and the Embarrass river rather low, our travelers crossed to the west side and camped at the place now known as Patterson Springs. This river is called "Ambraw", by some, which is the French pronunciation of the word Embarrass. It may be this very place gave the stream its name as it had no good fords and only muddy bottoms. About a mile south of Camargo in the center of Section 3, Township 15 North, Range 9 East, a fair ford could be used in dry weather. Here at Camargo the trail forked and we will take the west fork first. From Patterson Springs the trail led south on the west highland curving with the river and southward through Deer Creek township into Coles County. Here by skirting the sloughs and ponds they passed between the headwaters of Flat Creek, which flows westward into the Kaskaskia, and the source of Greasy Creek, which runs northeastwardly into the Embarrass. In this locality they could find several desirable campsites. A famous one was at the seven hickories in present Seven Hickory Township. To this day, a small clump of hickory trees remain there. The place is about one-fourth mile west of the southeast corner of Section 17, Township 13 North, Range 9 West of the 3rd P. M.

Also there was Blue Grass Grove in Humbolt Township. Our travelers went from the Seven Hickories southwestward on a ridge, skirting the headwaters of the Riley Creek branches to Deadman's Grove, Section 4, Township 12 North, Range 8 East of the 3rd P. M. (From now on all descriptions refer to the 3rd P. M.) Here they crossed an

old Indian trail from the lower Wabash river to the Sangamon river. The later Charleston-Springfield road ran this way. The Lincolns may have passed here on their way to Decatur. We continue with our party southwestwardly, passing present Mattoon, through Sections 28 and 33, Township 11 North, Range 7 East, into Paradise Township, and into the northwest corner of Cumberland County. Thence southwestwardly through Big Spring Township, Shelby County, Sections 12, 14, 15, 21 and 20, Township 10 North, Range 6 East, to cross Rattlesnake Creek at the old ford west of present Neoga at the Big Spring. Section 29 was later an early settlement of pioneers.

From this point the trail went southwardly on the west highland of the Little Wabash and entered present Effingham County about one and one-half miles west of the river. Again our trail divides and we have what we shall call the "Upland" and the "River" trails. The Upland ran southwestwardly into Moccasin Creek Township where later Gurdon S. Hubbard of Bunkum, (Iroquois, Illinois), had a trading post. Thence almost due south through Effingham County, across a tip of Fayette County into Meagham Township, Marion County, meeting the River route in Section 20, Township 4 North, Range 4 East. However, our Frenchmen followed the River trail.

Continuing southward on the bank of the second bottom, we cross the later National Road just west of the Wabash river at old Ewington, and following the curves we enter into Mason Township, middle Sections 3, 10, 15, 22 and 27, Township 6 North, Range 5 East, thence southwestwardly and into Clay County, Sections 4, 9, 16, 21, 28, 29, 32 and 31, Township 5 North, Range 5 East. Entering almost at the tip of the northeast corner of Marion County we go southwestwardly through Meagham Township to Section 20, Township 4 North, Range 4 West. Now being on the headwaters of Skillet Fork, we turn south and, par-

EARLY TRAILS OF EASTERN ILLINOIS

alleling the west side of the river two or three miles away to escape the "breaks," we pass through Sections 29 and 32, Township 4 North and Sections 5, 8, 17, 20, 29 and 32, Township 3 North, Range 4 East to a branch of Skillet Fork. We cross and intersect the Vincennes-Cahokia trail. Here we camp again. Soon LeBourdais was gleefully hailing some fellow hunters as they pased towards Vincennes.

Breaking camp our party went south and came out of the woods where they crossed another branch of Skillet Fork in Section 29, Township 2 North, Range 4 East and turned southwest through Sections 32 and 31. Romine Prairie was crossed in Sections 6, 7 and 18, Township 1 North, Range 4 East and Sections 13 and 23, Range 3 East. Skirting the south edge of the woods that lay along Raccoon Creek they came to Walnut Point in the Walnut Hill country southeast of Centralia, and camped. In the morning we shall turn more to the westward and follow the main line of travel, over the route where later came George Rogers Clark and his intrepid band to capture Vincennes.

Now let us return to Camargo, Douglas County, and see the ground our voyageurs would have travelled had they taken the east route. First, we go a few miles south and east to the place where the Embarrass river makes a distinct loop to the northward. This place was later called "Hugo" and was another one of Hubbard's trading posts. Many were the furs and buffalo skins brought to this point to be sold to the American Fur Company.

From Hugo southeast entering Coles County, following one of the long low ridges passing just east of Hindsboro and to the place called Greasy Point, about the middle of Section 20, Township 14 North, Range 10 East, we continue southeastwardly to intersect a trail at a ford southwest of Oakland, Illinois, and turn southward through Morgan Township. This trail later became well used by people going from Charleston to the salt works on the Vermil-

ion river. The present winding road paralleling the right side of the river is the result of this old trail. It led through present Charleston and south and west to Kickapoo Ford, Section 22, Township 12 North, Range 9 East, thence south through the centers of Sections 28, 33, 49, 16 and 21, crossing the later pioneer road from McCann's Ford to Paradise near the "Lincoln" farm, Section 21.

We enter Cumberland County in Section 28, Township 11 North, Range 9 East, going southwest a mile, thence about southward along the west side of a stream to present Jewett. We follow a slight watershed route, south, through the northwest part of Jasper County, and skirting the headwaters of South Muddy Creek, pass into Clay County, Bible Grove Township.

From Bible Grove a well defined trail went southwestwardly to present Louisville, crossing the Wabash river at a ford; and continuing southwestwardly to a point one-half mile south of present Old Xenia where it intercepted the Vincennes-Cahokia trail (mentioned before as being crossed by the route LeBourdais took to reach present Iuka). At Xenia the trail ends in the main Vincennes-Kaskaskia trail which we follow southwestwardly to Walnut Point, on Racoon Creek, which is about one mile north of Walnut Hill. After Illinois was settled, a main road passed through Walnut Hill from Shawneetown to St. Louis. Here our party of French and Indians are breaking camp to hurry to Kaskaskia so we follow southwestwardly on a ridge and leaving Marion County, Section 32, Centralia Township, thence southwestwardly through the northwest corner of Jefferson County, Sections 4, 9, 8, 17 and 18 and into Washington County, following the high ground about two miles south of present Irvington and into the northeast corner of Richview Township, crossing this township southwest and into Nashville. From the southwest corner of Nashville, we continue southwestwardly through Sections 24, 26, 34,

Township 12 South, Range 3 West of the 3rd P. M., and Sections 4, 5, and 6, Township 3 South, Range 3 West into Elkton Township and to present Oakdale. The ford on Elkhorn Creek was early called "Meadow in the Hole." The name is fitting to this day because the stream runs through a narrow valley with level floor and sloping bank, and the grass grows luxuriantly over all. Thence we continue almost directly southwestwardly across the northwesternmost section in Perry County, following at most times the present country road, to Coulterville. At an early day this was called Grand Cote because at the south edge of town a large ridge comes in from the southeast and continues northwest through the country. It is large enough that the railroad locomotives do a heap of puffing to pull over at present. On southwestward to present Sparta, turning slightly southward we follow present road to near Blair. The old trail passed about one-half mile west and turned southwestward toward Kaskaskia. A trail from the southeast joined our route in this locality. Going on we cross the present paved State Highway Route No. 3 about two miles northeast from the old French fort. Soon we drop off of the highland down a ravine, and passing under the south brow of the grim old fort come to the Kaskaskia river. At present the broad Mississippi has usurped the old channel, but not so when LeBourdais crossed. So we bring our party into Old Kaskaskia.

LINCOLN AND MACON COUNTY, ILLINOIS, 1830-1831

BY EDWIN DAVIS

INTRODUCTION

In reading the record of one year of Lincoln's life, from March, 1830 to March, 1831, as told by different writers, the following statements stand out:

1. Lincoln came to Illinois in 1 wagon drawn by 2 yoke of oxen owned by Thomas Lincoln. *Life of Lincoln*, Hart, p. 32.
In 1 wagon, 1 yoke of oxen owned by Thomas Lincoln and 1 by Dennis Hanks. *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay & Hay, p. 45.
In 1 wagon drawn by seven yoke of oxen. *Lincoln Grows Up*, Sandburg, p. 204; *The Prairie Years*, Sandburg, Vol 1, p. 104.
In 1 wagon drawn by 4 yoke. *Lincoln the Citizen*, Whitney, p. 60; *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, p. 74.
In 2 wagons, 1 drawn by 1 yoke and 1 by 2 yoke of oxen. *The Emigrant Boy*, Thayer, p. 216.
In wagons drawn by oxen. *Autobiography*, Stephenson, p. 7; *Life of Lincoln*, Holland, p. 39; *Life of Lincoln*, Tarbell, p. 47.
In 3 wagons, 1 drawn by oxen and 2 by horses. *History of Macon County*, Coleman, chapter 19.
In 3 wagons, 2 drawn by 2 yoke of oxen apiece and 1 by 4 horses. Mrs. Harriet Hanks Chapman in *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1, footnote on p. 139.
2. John Hanks met them on the road and guided them to Decatur. *Life of Lincoln*, Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 103¹.
John Hanks met them in Decatur. *In the Lincoln Country*, Newcomb, p. 82.

¹Thomas B. Shoaff, editor of the Shelby County *Leader*, told me, and gave me a prepared statement in regard to the thirteen persons in the Lincoln migration to Illinois in 1830. They were all related and personally known to him, among them being his mother, his grandfather and grandmother, and his great-grandmother. He states that Senator Beveridge, confused by finding the name of John Hanks in the list given by Dennis Hanks, Mr. Shoaff's grandfather, assumed that this was the John Hanks who split rails with Lincoln. John Hanks the rail-splitter, was an entirely different man from the one included in the list, and was not with the caravan, but was already in Macon County, Illinois, preparing for the arrival of the immigrants. The John Hanks named by Dennis Hanks was his son, a small boy at the time of the exodus, whose full name was John Talbot Hanks.

I am sure that Mr. Shoaff is right, as Beveridge on page 102 leaves one child out, saying four children when he should have said five.

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- John Hanks showed them the place to locate. *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay & Hay, Vol. 1, p. 46; *The Prairie Years*, Sandburg, p. 106; *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 2, p. 213.
3. Old log court-house. No record Lincoln ever had a case in it. *History of Macon County*, Coleman, Chapter 13. Lincoln did have a case in it. *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 110; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909, p. 15.
 4. Location of Lincoln cabin: S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 28. *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909; *old map in Decatur Public Library*.
N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 28. *Life of Lincoln*, Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 104.
 5. Lincoln was cared for when he got his feet frozen: In the Hudleson House. *Women Lincoln Loved*, Barton, p. 165; *Decatur Herald*, July 7, 1929, p. 1.
In the old Warnick cabin, across the road and farther west. *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909; *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 318.
 6. Lincoln, John Hanks, and Johnston went out of Macon County in a canoe. *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay & Hay, Vol. 1, p. 70.
Lincoln and John Hanks went in a canoe, Johnston joined them later. *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, p. 63.
 7. Lincoln got his feet frozen when canoe upset. *Women Lincoln Loved*, Barton, p. 165.
Lincoln walked across the river with poor shoes and got his feet wet. *History of Macon County*, Smith, footnote on p. 280.

There are other differences, but these will serve as examples, and lead one to say with Pilate, "What is truth?" and be forced unwillingly to the conclusion that Henry Ford was inspired when he said, "History is bunk!"

THE EXODUS, 1830-1831

In 1828 there came a man to Macon County, Illinois, whose name was John. He was not the great common uncommon American, but bore witness of him, and like another fore-runner named John, was a cousin, or rather a first cousin removed.² John Hanks came to Illinois from Kentucky by the way of Spencer County, Indiana, and built his cabin in what is now Hickory Point Township, first called Bull Point, less than a half mile east of Boiling

²John Hanks, witness; *Life of Lincoln*, Weik, p. 276. John 1:7-8. Luke 1:36.

Springs. He sent word back to his kinfolks in Indiana, telling them of the fine woods and prairies, and advising them to "pull up stakes" and come to Illinois. Dennis Hanks, also a first cousin removed, came and gave the country a "once-over" in a short visit.³ Later another epidemic of milk-sick (the disease which had caused the death of Nancy Hanks, Abraham Lincoln's mother, in 1818), came on in Indiana and as Dennis Hanks said, "nearly ruined him." He not only had a sick spell himself, but lost four cows and 11 calves in one week; so he said, "I'm goin' to git out of here and hunt a country where the milk-sick is not."⁴ As his wife was her daughter, Sarah Bush Lincoln wanted to go too. Moving was right in Thomas Lincoln's line and just suited him, so in the fall and winter of 1829-1830 they made ready.

Thomas Lincoln sold the eighty acres he had entered and partly paid for, and a lot in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, belonging to his wife, going there with her to complete the deal.⁵ He bought, some say made, a wagon, an "iron bound

³John and Dennis Hanks; *Historical Encyclopedia*, p. 219. Bull Point, *Decatur Herald*, July 7, 1929. Home of John Hanks, *History of Macon County*, Brink, p. 204. John Hanks' first home in Macon Co. was a shelter made of rails, with a double wall space filled with prairie grass and leaves and covered with slough grass. The outside rails were 4 ft. longer than the inner rails. This shelter was on the Sangamon River, near the place where the Lincoln log cabin was later built. His older brother, James Hanks, built his cabin of round logs, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north and a little east of John's cabin near Boiling Springs. William Baker and David Davis, first settlers of Long Creek Township, also built of small logs, and Rev. Martin Baker, in a sermon printed in the *Decatur Herald* on May 12, 1918, tells the reason for this. "We hear of house and barn raisings, and these things did come, but it is obvious that at first no logs could be used that the members of the family could not lift." All these families later built good hewn log houses, one of which is still standing. John Hanks' cabin burned in about the year 1866; Mrs. Mary Ellen Hanks Manon, of Eureka, Cal., Perry Vance, Elwin, Ill., and Daniel Good, Route No. 7, Decatur.

⁴Milk-sick: *Prairie Years*, Sandburg, p. 102. *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, p. 24-57. *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, p. 74.

⁵Daughters and roving spirit: *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, p. 58. *Life of Lincoln*, Hart, p. 32. Elizabethtown, making ready: *Life of Lincoln*, Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 94-95. *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 154. *Lineage of Lincoln*, Barton, p. 289.

wagon" said to be "the first and only one he ever owned," the wheels of which were merely disks of wood with iron bands. Mention is made of a wagon he bought at a sale in Kentucky for eight and a third cents, but at that price it may be it was mere flattery to call it a wagon. Dr. Barton suggests it was a toy wagon.⁶ He loaded his wagon with three beds and bedding, one bureau, one table, one set of chairs, one chest, and cooking utensils. He took one cow, an extra horse, and a little dog under the wagon.

The whole tribe is commonly represented as coming in one wagon, but Abraham Lincoln said that "the mode of conveyance was wagons drawn by oxen, and he drove one of the teams."⁷ Mrs. Harriet Hanks Chapman said that "they had three wagons, two drawn by two yoke of oxen each, and one by two teams of horses." She would be in position to know, either from her own memory, from her father or mother, or, as she lived with him awhile, from Lincoln himself.⁸ The company consisted of Thomas Lincoln, his wife, Sarah B. Lincoln, her son, John D. Johnston; Dennis Hanks, his wife, Sarah E. Hanks, their daughters, Sarah Jane, Nancy M., and Harriet (the one that told of the wagons), and a son named John; Squire Hall, his wife, Matilda (a daughter of Sarah B. Lincoln), and their son, also named John; and last, but not least, Abraham Lincoln,⁹—making thirteen in all, a perfect number, like the thirteen tribes of Israel, or the thirteen original colonies, or the thirteen months of the new calendar. Thirteen was con-

⁶Wagon: *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 155; *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1, p. 88; *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, p. 74; *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, p. 58-59; *Lineage of Lincoln*, Barton, p. 289.

⁷Load: *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, p. 74. Mode of conveyance: *Autobiography*, Stephenson, p. 7. *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay, p. 20.

⁸Three wagons: *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1, p. 139, footnote. Lived with Lincoln: *Life of Lincoln*, Weik, p. 53. Age: *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, p. 58.

⁹Names: *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1. pp. 138-139. Statement of Thomas Benton Shoaff, Shelbyville, Ill., manuscript.

sidered a sacred and lucky number by the Aztecs, the Mayan and Incan races.

Lincoln at this time (the last of February or the first of March, 1830), was not quite a month past twenty-one. He was nearly six feet, four inches tall, with coarse, straight black hair, gray eyes, and a pleasant homely face; but then, as ever, he had a certain charm that grew on one.¹⁰ He was clothed in coonskin cap, jeans coat, and buckskin breeches.¹¹ He says of himself that he did not know much, but could read, write, spell, and cipher to the rule of three. But then he always was modest, and most people at middle age would say with him, that at twenty-one they did not know much.¹² Thayer, in *The Emigrant Boy*, says that the rule of three was simple proportion; and Edward Eggleston states that in Illinois at that time, and later, a person who could cipher to the rule of three was considered fit to teach school. Lincoln says the same of Indiana.¹³ But, though his formal schooling had been scanty, he had read the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, Life of Washington by Weems, Life of Marion, also by Weems, the Life and Speeches of Henry Clay, Statutes of Indiana, Life of Franklin, an etymological dictionary, the Kentucky Preceptor, Robinson Crusoe, Webster's blue-backed speller, Murray's reader, Aesop's Fables, a history of the United States of America, and the Arabian Nights.¹⁴ Quite a respectable list for that time and place!

¹⁰Thirteen tribes: Revelations, 7,—Tribe of Joseph-Ephraim-Manassah. Tribe of Dan is left out of Chapter 7. Genesis, chapters 48, 49. Thirteen lucky: Old civilizations of the new world, *Verrill*, p. 168. Description of Lincoln: *Life of Lincoln*, Browne, p. 34. *Historical Journal*, April, 1917, p. 124. Time: *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, p. 58; Barton, Vol. 1, p. 138. Charm: *Personal Recollections*, Mrs. Johns, p. 62-63; *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, introduction; *William Bankson*, pioneer preacher and soldier in Grant's regiment.

¹¹Dress: *Life of Lincoln*, Whitlock, p. 36; Coffin, p. 49.

¹²Education: *Autobiography*, Stephenson, p. 7.

¹³School-teacher: *The Graysons*, Eggleston, p. 80. *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay & Hay, Vol. 1, p. 33.

¹⁴Books: *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, pp. 37-38; Barton, Vol. 1, p. 121; *Life of Lincoln*, Beveridge, Vol. 1, pp. 70-75; *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay & Hay, Vol. 1, p. 35.

And as he re-read, memorized, and reflected on the things he read, he could not have been the ignorant man he is sometimes represented as being, although doubtless there were gaps in his education.¹⁵

In Indiana he invested some thirty dollars in notions,—needles, thread, pins, buttons, and a set of knives and forks as the largest item. When he reached Decatur he wrote back that he had doubled his money. He tells one incident of his peddling. "Just before we left Indiana for Illinois we came across a small farm house full of nothing but children. The mother was red-headed and red-faced, and the whip she held in her right hand led to the inference that she had been chastising her brood, that ranged in years from seventeen years to seventeen months, and all were in tears. The father, a meek-looking, mild-mannered, towheaded chap, was standing in the doorway, awaiting (to all appearances) his turn to feel the thong. She saw me come up, and roughly pushing her husband aside, demanded my business. 'Nothing, madam,' I answered as gently as possible, 'I merely dropped in as I came by to see how things were going.' 'Well, you needn't wait, ther's trouble here and lots of it too, but I kin manage my own affairs without help from outsiders. I don't want nobody sneaking 'round tryin' to find how I do it, either'."¹⁶

They ferried across the Wabash river at Vincennes, where Lincoln saw a printing press for the first time. This must have been his second time to be in Illinois, as he floated by its shores for a hundred miles in going by flatboat to New Orleans in 1828.¹⁷ They struck north ferrying the streams

¹⁵Re-reading: *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 147; *Life of Lincoln*, Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 77.

¹⁶Peddling: *The Prairie Years*, Sandburg, p. 104; *Lincoln Yarns*, McClure, p. 342; *Frank Jones*, Gillespie, Ill.; *E. A. Jones*, Gentryville, Ind., grandsons of Col. William Jones, storekeeper.

¹⁷New Orleans: *Autobiography*, Stephenson, p. 6; *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 136. Ferry: *Boyhood of Lincoln*, Adkison, p. 41. Printing-press: *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1, p. 140.

or avoiding them when they could, and fording when there was no other way. In the early part of the day the water was slightly frozen, and the oxen would break through a square yard at every step. The little dog got left behind at one stream; it whined, ran up and down the bank, but refused to jump in and swim across. Lincoln took compassion on it, waded through the ice floe and carried it over in his arms. The ground had not thawed through yet, but during the day the road would thaw out on the surface, and at night freeze over again, thus making traveling, especially for oxen, painfully slow and tiresome.¹⁸ When they reached Palestine, a juggler was performing his tricks to amuse the crowd that had gathered at the land office. From here they went northwest, nearly losing a wagon in fording the Okaw.¹⁹ The caravan must have entered Macon County as it now is, on the old Springfield and Paris trace, as it had been laid out some years before by the Legislature. It is sometimes called the "old road"—old in 1830—in the commissioner's book of Macon County.

According to the late Rev. Martin Baker, as late as 1850 the main road running from Paris to Springfield was nothing more than two parallel tracks, where the horses walked and the wagon wheels ran, with a strip of grass and weeds in the middle high enough to touch the axle trees. This was not the old road, but the Terre Haute stage road, a cut-off running through Decatur and connecting with the old road. It was relocated in 1833 by Colonel James Johnson and Philip D. Williams. It crossed the river at the Crowford, east of the present bathing-beach and a little south. Later it crossed at a bridge in Decatur Township just west of Camp Kiwanis. It was called the Decatur and Paris

¹⁸Condition of roads: *Prairie Years*, Sandburg, p. 104. *Autobiography*, Stephenson, p. 7. Dog: *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, p. 59.

¹⁹Palestine, juggler: *Autobiography*, Stephenson, p. 7. Land office: *Pioneer History of Illinois*, Reynolds, p. 372; *In the Lincoln Country*, Rexford, p. 78. Okaw: *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, p. 75; *In the Lincoln Country*, Rexford, p. 78.

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State Road, and on some old plats the Lovington Road. The plat in the commissioners' book, p. 80, runs it straight southeast to Lovington, but in reality it seems to have wobbled some. It was from from 300 feet or a half mile south of State Road 121, most of the way in Long Creek Township. The Rev. Mr. Baker used it as an example of the roads at an early date, and it is safe to say that the old road in 1830 was as bad and probably very much worse.

The old Springfield road passed Mt. Zion, Mt. Gilead, Salem and Bethlehem churches, and on past the Huddleson House and the deserted town of Madison on the south side of the river to the county line. The Lincoln cabin stood a mile north of the road. All these churches and houses were in the future in 1830, although people already lived there and religious services had been held at least near Bethlehem. The road ran in the general direction it does now, but angled more. For example, at Mt. Gilead it then ran on the south side of where the cemetery now is, instead of following section lines. There is still a tablet nailed to a tree, stating that the old road ran by there.

Mt. Gilead was, in fact, the county seat at this time. James Ward lived on lot 3 in the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 2, just southwest of the cemetery on the old road, at the junction of the Shelbyville road which had been laid out in 1829 by John Ward. By law his home was the temporary county seat until the court house was built in Decatur. John Ward and the other Ward families were the first permanent settlers south of the river. John Ward had a store, and also made powder to sell to the Indians and settlers at his home, which was not far from where Mueller's Lodge now stands. He also had a ferry near Indian Bluff where the Shelbyville road crossed the Sangamon. It was near where the county bridge on State Road No. 2 now is.

The first election in Macon County after it became a county, was held in James Ward's blacksmith shop, on the second Monday in April, 1829. William Warnick was elected sheriff, and Benjamin Wilson, Elisha Freeman, and James Miller, commissioners. The first grand and petit jury was summoned to meet at the home of James Ward on the first Thursday succeeding the first Monday after the fourth Monday in August; but John Smith interviewed some of the men called, and they said the jury never met. The commissioners appointed to locate Decatur filled in their report on April 10, 1829. The county commissioners ordered this report filed on June 1, 1829. John Fleming and Jesse Rhodes spent five days, but Easton Whitton drew pay for seven days, which was three days more than he spent in helping to locate Shelbyville in 1827. They must have gone over a large scope of country, as they visited the farms of William Baker and David Davis, four miles east of Decatur—thereby causing these early settlers considerable worry, for they had not at that time entered the land they had squatted on, and were afraid of losing their improvements if the town was located on it.

The county commissioners met at Ward's on March first and second in 1830, twelve days too soon to see the Lincoln-Hanks caravan coming up the old Springfield road and turning north at Mt. Gilead onto the Shelbyville road on their way to Decatur. Doubtless they crossed the river at John Ward's ferry, and paid toll as fixed by the commissioners for 1829-30, as follows: footman, $6\frac{1}{4}$ cts.; 1 horse and man, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cts.; 1-horse carriage, $18\frac{3}{4}$ cts.; 2-horse carriage, 25 cts.; 4-horse carriage, 50 cts.; for each add. horse, $6\frac{1}{2}$ cts.; sheep and cattle, 3 cts. They entered Decatur from the south, near where the old line of the Illinois Central now runs, and camped for the night, on or near March 14, 1830, in what is now called, in his honor, Lin-

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coln Square. A plate on the west wall of West's Drug Store marks the spot as located by Lincoln himself in 1856.²⁰

²⁰Laws of Ill., 1825: Approved Dec. 29, 1824, page 34; Springfield-Paris Road: Coleman's *History of Macon County*, Decatur Review, Chap. 5. Condition of roads: Rev. Martin Baker, sermon printed in Decatur Herald, May 12, 1918. Commissioners' Book: Old road, p. 13; Stage road to Paris, p. 86; Mt. Gilead, home of James Ward, pp. 1, 3, 4, 15; Locating Decatur, pp. 4, 5; Shelbyville road, ferry, p. 10; Indian Bluff, March 8, 1837.

My grandfather, David Davis, was one of the clerks in the election held at James Ward's blacksmith shop on August 2, 1830. He pointed out the place to Mrs. Emma (Rucker) Corman in about the year 1872. There was nothing there at that time but a tree.

The Springfield and Paris road was surveyed through Lovington in 1828, according to Brink's *History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties*, p. 223.

Bethlehem, preaching: Rev. John M. Berry preached here, and of him Lincoln said, "There is the man who years ago was instrumental in convincing me of the evils of the sale and use of spirituous liquors." *Journal of the Ill. State Historical Society*, Apr., 1920, p. 8. Rev. John M. Berry was the father of Lincoln's partner in the store at New Salem. *Abraham Lincoln*, Rankin, p. 78.

Rev. David Foster, the same who organized the Mt. Zion Cumberland Presbyterian Church in April, 1830, preached near Bethlehem in the winter of 1828-1829. This is stated in an old letter, written by Mrs. Mary M. Davis, dated June 4, 1829, now in possession of Miss Clara M. Baker of Decatur. Printed in the Decatur Herald, May 7, 1922, and in the Decatur Review, June 4, 1929. Also see *History of Macon Co.*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 260.

Mt. Gilead: James Ward, *original Entry Book*, p. 82. County Clerk's office; Decatur Republican, Jan. 20, 1870; *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 263. Indian Bluff: Mrs. Becky (Ward) Rose, R. R. No. 4, Decatur; Decatur Herald, July 7, 1929, p. 5; *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 26; Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 373; *Original Entry Book*, p. 103, County Clerk's office. General Topic: *History of Macon County*, Smith, Chapter 3, Brink, pp. 54, 187-188; *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, Chapters 3, 4, 5; *History of Macon County*, Coleman, Decatur Review, Chapters 10, 14, 23; *Story of Decatur*, Hitchcock, Decatur Review, Chapters 8, 9, 10, 18. Locating Decatur: Rev. Martin Baker, appendix to Mrs. John's *Personal Recollections*, p. 259; Time, March 14, 1830: Decatur Review, Dec. 29, 1929, p. 14; *Lincoln Lore*, Sept. 23, 1929; *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, Vol. 1, pp. 58-60. Camping place: *Life of the Circuit*, Whitney, p. 19; *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1, p. 141. Decatur and Paris State Road—Lovington: Samuel Davis, Decatur; Jane Sanders, Decatur; Walter Greenfield, Long Creek; James Logan, R. R. No. 8, Decatur; Ervin Heckel, R. R. No. 8, Decatur; *Old Road Book of Long Creek Township*; *History of Long Creek*, Mrs. L. N. Lindsey, with map, Decatur Review, Dec. 16, 1929. Road south of Mt. Gilead, Cemetery-marker: Victor Peterson, Elwin, Illinois. The old Indian relics found by W. A. Surface along the old road seem to indicate an Indian trail.

DECATUR AND THE
LINCOLN LOG COURT HOUSE, 1830-1831

The data for this subject is taken from the Commissioners' Book of Macon County unless otherwise specified, and was compared with the deeds in the Recorder's Office. There was a cursory mistake in the deed that is correct in the Commissioners' Book. The commissioners ordered the clerk, Daniel McCall, to give a deed to James Renshaw for the East $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot 4 in Block 3. Instead he gave him a deed to the East $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot 4 in Block 4. The East $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot 4 in Block 4, if there is such a place, is the southwest corner of the Public Square. The East $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot 4 in Block 3, is where the Linn and Scrugg's store now stands. See Commissioners' Book, p. 57.

Decatur at this time was a small place, less than a dozen log houses set in the heart of a grove of noble oaks. The Ward Settlement wanted it located south, nearer the river, but the Stevens Settlement preferred it farther north. The argument pro and con took the form of a free-for-all fight, in which some were injured.²¹ The original town is located on the 15th section of township 16 north, in range 2 East, in the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ and E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of said quarter, in the southeast corner, and contained 20 acres. It lay within Prairie, Water, Wood and Church streets, except $8\frac{1}{2}$ lots west of Church street and $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{4}$ lots north of Prairie. Benjamin R. Austin, the county surveyor, laid it out and platted it "After the form of Shelbyville." Commissioners' Book, p. 4. The first sale of lots was on July 10, 1829. John McMennamy, later the second sheriff of the county, was the auctioneer, and received one dollar for his work. Not many lots were sold, pages 4-6, Commissioners' Book. The

²¹Fight—Description of Decatur: *History of Macon County*, Coleman, Chapters 8, 9, 10; *Story of Decatur*, Hitchcock, Chapters 9, 10, 20; *Settlement of Illinois*, Pooley, p. 445; *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 422; *Decatur Republican*, Jan. 20, 1870; *Book A*, p. 82, Recorder's Office, Decatur; *Rules—Board of Supervisors of Macon County*, 1928, p. 45.

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original plat is in Book A, p. 1, in the recorder's office, Decatur. The commissioners gave bond for deed, as they did not have a deed themselves until October 8, 1831, when it was conveyed to them by Parmenius Smallwood, Easton Whitton, and Charles Prentice, who entered it from the United States.

The streets of the village still contained stumps, and for several years East Main street was used as a place to throw weights, foot race, wrestle and the like, and nobody was discommoded.²² There was one store and tavern combined, run by James Renshaw on the lot just south of the one he bought and never got a deed for—but he probably never knew it. The front part of the building was used as a store, and the back and half-story above for a tavern. A "place for the entertainment of beasts" was kept by Philip D. Williams on East Main street near where Hall Brothers' Clothing Store was for so many years. Decatur is described as a neat, pretty place, by a traveler named Edmund Flagg, in 1836, according to the *Louisville Journal*.²³

The old log court house may have been started by William Shields, who, according to the *History of Macon County* by Smith, p. 182, was "a Presbyterian Baptist preacher of the old school" (whatever that means), but it certainly was not finished. The commissioners still met on April 17, 1830, at Ward's. The grand and petit jury was called to meet in Decatur on May 6, 1830, so may have met at the court-house (Comm. Book, p. 14-15), but William D. Baker said that court was held in the open air, a log being the judges' seat. (*Past and Present of Macon County*, p.

²²Stumps: *Settlement of Illinois*, Pooley, p. 445. East Main street used for sports: Rev. Martin Baker, Appendix to *Personal Recollections* by Mrs. Johns, p. 263. Bond for deed: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 23; The tract of land described in the agreement between the men who entered the land on which the original town stood, and the commissioners, was not the land that was finally deeded and used as the town site. Recorder's office, *Book A*, pp. 4-5.

²³*Decatur Republican*, Jan. 20, 1870; *Story of Decatur*, Hitchcock, Chaps. 12, 13, 20, *Decatur Review*; *History of Macon County*, Vol. 1, p. 422.

551.) On this jury are found several names that have been or will be, used in this sketch: Grand Jury: Benjamin Austin, Francis G. Hill, Robert Foster, William Freeman, James Ward, James Hanks, William D. Baker, William Miller, John Miller, Thomas Cowan, John Hanks. Petit Jury: Parmenius Smallwood, James Owen, David Miller, Samuel Widick, David Davis. The first voting place of the Decatur precinct was the home of Parmenius Smallwood. An election was held there on June 2, 1829; but the election of August 2, 1830, was held in the court house. (Comm. Book, pp. 3-16.)

The circuit court met on May 6th in Decatur, and Judge Samuel Lockwood, a member of the Supreme Court, presided. There were four cases on the docket: Thomas Cowan vs. Wm. King, appeal; John Hanks vs. John Henderson, slander; Wm. Webb vs. Hubbell Sprague, slander; Wm. Webb vs. Philip D. Williams, appeal. The cases were all settled by agreement so he dismissed them all. John Hanks had to pay the costs in his case, and so did Philip D. Williams. Thomas Cowan came out all right.²⁴ It is certain the commissioners met in the court house on June 7, 1830, though it was still unfinished, as the following orders show. (Comm. Book, p. 16.) Dec., 1830, John Hanks for chinking and daubing court house, \$9.87½, p. 20; Luther Hunting, laying floor, \$8.00, p. 22; June, 1830, Thos. Taylor, repairing court house, \$26.18¾, p. 30; Sept., 1831, Isaac Pugh, glass, \$2.37½, p. 38; Sept., 1832, Ordered by the court that Jas. Johnson be allowed until 1st day of Nov. to finish court house, p. 51; Dec., 1832, James John-

²⁴Court—Jury: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 47; *Court Records, Book A*, p. 1; Benjamin Austin; *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 246; *Brink*, p. 191. William Baker; *Original poll list—and tally sheets* county clerk, Decatur, Ill., 1830. Francis G. Hill; Francis Hill, Decatur, Ill. John & James Hanks, *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 2, p. 213. Thomas Cowan, *History of Macon County*, p. 282, Smith; *Brink*, p. 31. David Davis, *History of Macon County*, Smith, pp. 35, 45. James Owen, *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 318. *Original tally sheet and poll list*, 1829.

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son, lumber, \$50.62, p. 58, work, \$101.43, nails, \$11.31¼, seasoning plank, \$4.50, error in lumber bill, .75, material for chimney, \$27.50, bars for court house, \$3.25; John Miller, laying hearth, \$21.00; June, 1833, Henry Wheeler, windows—shutters, \$6.75, p. 76; March, 1833, Amos Robinson, valuing work, \$1.50, p. 73; Tho. Cowan, valuing work, \$1.50; June, 1834, James Querry, work on court house, \$5.00, p. 115; Amos Robinson, work on court house, \$5.00.

It is no wonder that James Johnson was slow in finishing the jail and court house, nor that they extended the time, for he was away with his company of mounted rangers in the Black Hawk War. He was promoted to colonel, May 16, 1832. A man named James W. Johnson finished the court house in Shelbyville in 1829, but whether the colonel's name was James W. is in doubt. (Book A, p. 295.) The Commissioners' Book on page 60 calls him James H. and so does one deed, though the *Decatur Herald*, March 8, 1914, has a list of the patrons of Renshaw's store from August 5 to September 2, 1830, in which a James W. Johnson is named, so it may have been the same man that finished both log court houses.

The court house, finally finished, stood on the ½ of lot 4, block 4, near where Krigbaum's Electric Store now is. It was used for court, religious services, weddings, and school, and the hogs enjoyed shade and shelter under it, with a convenient hog-wallow up North Main street. It now stands on a knoll in Fairview Park, Decatur, and is used as Boy Scout Headquarters.²⁵

Decatur became a post office on March 6, 1830. Daniel McCall was the first postmaster, and indeed seems to have been the general handy man. He was one of the first school-teachers in the county, was the first county and circuit clerk,

²⁵Black Hawk War: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 59. Hogwallow: *Decatur Herald*, July 7, 1929. Meetings—weddings—hogs: *History of Macon County*, Vol. 1, p. 109; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909, p. 7.

took the census of 1830 (Comm. Book, pp. 17-34), was probate judge, was a private in Johnson's company in the Black Hawk War, and last but not least, a notary public. As such, he signed the first deed recorded in the county. He had a fair education, but was very much dissipated. The commissioners ordered him to appear before them one night to answer for his misdeeds. He did not show up, but had a perfectly good excuse that got by. The indications are that he had been out "making whoopee" and not attending to business, as H. M. Gorin acted as deputy clerk for two days. (Comm. Book, pp. 60-61.)²⁶ Before the post office was established the settlers had to go to Springfield for their mail. After March 6th, 1830, it came once a week from Shelbyville.²⁷ In a booklet called "Investigation of the Lincoln Way," p. 54, Joseph Stewart, 2nd Assistant Postmaster General, says that as far as the records show, the only route to Decatur in 1830 was mail route, No. 83, which went north through Bloomington to Chicago.

By January 16, 1837, the court house had become too small or perhaps they wanted to keep up with the Joneses, i. e., McLean County; so Charles Emerson, Richard Oglesby (an uncle of Governor Oglesby), and James Renshaw were appointed as agents to contract on the behalf of Macon County for the erection of a court house in Decatur. They let it, with the approval of the court at the March term, 1837, to Leander Munsell. It was to be finished in eighteen months, and to be superior to the court house in McLean County. Mr. Munsell lived in Paris, Illinois, and had built a court house in Shelbyville and in Bloomington. The agents were ordered to find the exact center of the Public

²⁶Post office: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 49; Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 428; Daniel McCall; *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 49.

²⁷Shelbyville: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 167; Springfield: Letter written by Mrs. Marilla Baker, June 4, 1829, in possession of Clara Baker, Decatur; printed in *Decatur Herald*, May 7, 1922, and in *Decatur Review*, June 4, 1929.

Square and put the court house there. At the March term of court, 1838, the court had a change of heart, and asked the contractor for his opinion in writing on "whether the lot on which the log court house is now situated is a suitable place to erect the contemplated one on." On April 16, 1838, Leander Munsell was requested "to have the court-house built on the southeast corner of the Public Square, and within ten feet of the street running through the center of the Square."

On June 20, 1838, the court house was tendered by the contractor, was examined and accepted by the court. The same day Henry M. Gorin was appointed as agent to rent the rooms of the old court house. In the December term "the lot on which the former court house was situated was ordered exposed at a public sale in Decatur, on the first day of January, 1839." Once before, on June 6, 1837, lot 4 in block 4 was ordered to be sold, but that time there was a string tied to it, reserving it as long as needed by the county, so evidently it was not sold. It was deeded to Ninian Peddecord on March 9, 1839. Ninian W. Peddecord was the third county clerk.

Did Lincoln ever have a case in the so-called Lincoln Court House? He did, but, so far as the records show, only by "the skin of his teeth." The original of the following is in a frame in the Recorder's Office in Decatur, Illinois. The first paragraph is a copy of the inscription on the outside of the document.

"The answer of Abraham Lincoln, guardian ad litem in case no. A156 (John Lowry) written and signed by Lincoln, and filed in the Circuit Court of Macon County, Illinois, on June 5th, 1838.

"The answer of Abraham Lincoln, guardian ad litem of the infant heirs of John Lowry, deceased, to a petition filed in the Macon circuit court by John Lowry, administrator

of the estate of the said John Lowry, deceased, praying for the sale of the real estate of said deceased.

"This respondent for answer to the above named petition states that he knows of no good reason consistent with the interests of the said infant heirs why the prayer and petition should not be granted. A. Lincoln, Guardian ad litem."²⁸ As the new court house was tendered, accepted, and the old one offered for rent on June 20, 1838, this would leave, at the very least, fifteen days to spare, but as the John Lowry case came up on May 15 with Lincoln's name plainly written, this would make thirty-six days.

In the Decatur *Herald* of February 7, 1909, Mrs. Willis Johnson, then living at 976 North Main Street, recalls meeting Lincoln either in 1838 or 1839; she could not fix the date positively. She was visiting the family of John Hanks when Lincoln spent the night there. John Hanks was on the petit jury, locked up for the night, so Lincoln drove the horses home for Mrs. Hanks. Mrs. Johnson's description of his clothes is refreshing for a change. She says he wore a splendid suit of blue jeans, the most handsome thing in men's clothing that she had ever seen, with a leather strap under the instep to hold his trousers down. Lincoln seems to have had a wide acquaintance in the Possum Fork neighborhood. There is a tradition that he once came over from John Hanks' barefoot and ate dinner at the home of John Manley who was later a ranger in Johnson's company in the Black Hawk War. He lived near Boiling Springs. Mrs. Samuel Hornback, who lived east of there and a half mile southwest of Mound School, wove cloth for a suit of clothes for Lincoln about this time; it may have been this splendid blue suit. Mrs. Hornback was a skillful weaver and took the blue ribbon at the State Fair in Decatur. Mrs. Johnson goes on to say that Lincoln drove the horses back to town

²⁸Leander Munsell: *Decatur Republican*, Jan. 20, 1870. Lincoln case in court-house: *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909.

the next morning, by the site of the old schoolhouse, which had just been burned down, maliciously, it was thought. They crossed Stevens' Creek at the old ford, and Lincoln nearly pitched headlong out of the front end of the wagon when the chug came. It was near this place that Phelix, a son of John Hanks, was drowned. The court records of Macon County, Book A, pages 179, 182, 191, in the circuit clerk's office indicate that this incident may have happened on May 14 or 15, 1838, as John Hanks served on the petit jury in that term, but not on the regular panel. He was not on the regular panel in 1838 or 1839, though he was on the grand jury in 1839. The *History of Macon County* by Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 110, states that it was on May 14, 1838, that Hanks was on the jury.

John and James Hanks were not the only relatives of Lincoln who lived in Macon County at this time. Their brother, William Hanks, Jr., entered the eighty acres west of the quarter section on which the original town of Decatur was built. His cabin stood on the lot where H. I. Baldwin now lives, at 452 West Main. According to tradition handed down, Lincoln made it his stopping place when he came up from the farm a few miles away. It is said he used to sprawl in the shade of the trees just north of the house when reading. Hewn walnut logs from this old cabin are used as stringers in the house of Mr. Baldwin.

The fact that William Hanks lived so close probably explains why he was the first one to vote in the Lincoln courthouse in Decatur on August 2, 1830. He was also James Renshaw's first customer when that store was opened, according to the old ledger. He sold his eighty to William Crissey, and it is said his wife would not sign the deed until she received a new dress. Mrs. Parmenius Smallwood also refused to sign the deed to the twenty acres needed for Decatur, but it must have been for some other reason, for she refused to make any trouble, saying "her husband had

signed the deed donating his interest in the town site in good faith, and that his wishes were her wishes, so she would do nothing to undo anything he had done."

At the first term of the commissioners' court, William Hanks was appointed supervisor of Road District No. 1, which took in all roads north of the Sangamon river. He was named again March 2, 1830, and March 7, 1831, though the road district was smaller. It was "all that scope of country east of Stevens' Creek and west of Range 3, including the settlement of Randolph Rose and John Hanks, and one half way to Salt Creek." (Comm. Book, pp. 2, 14, 23.) William Hanks was also a ranger in Johnson's company in the Black Hawk War, James Johnson took his place as road boss in March, 1832. (Comm. Book, p. 45.) James Johnson dug the public well in the square, was also a blacksmith, and made the county seal. (Comm. Book, pp. 34, 82.) Thomas Cowan made the seal press. (p. 83.)

Miss Tarbell, in her book, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, p. 83, seems to have William Hanks, Senior, confused with William Hanks, Junior. William Hanks, Senior, the father of John, James and William, and the brother of Lucy Hanks, the grandmother of Lincoln, owned a farm on Section 22 in Harristown Township, cornering the section 28 that Thomas Lincoln squatted on. He was called to serve on the grand jury on April 30, 1832, at the same time William Hanks, Junior, was called as a petit juror. William Hanks, Junior, died east of Decatur, in January, 1846. At the sale of his personal property by the auctioneer, Rev. John Tyler, a buffalo bull was sold to Joe Davis for fourteen dollars. William Hanks, Senior, was still living in Macon County in September, 1841, as the commissioners made the final payment of \$8.34 in full for keeping Ann Lee from August, 1840. (Second Comm. Book of Macon Co.) William Hanks, Senior, was out in Des Moines County, Iowa Territory, on May 5, 1846, but was back in Macon

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County, Illinois, on March 20 April 17, 1848. Affidavit and receipt in Box 5, no. 122, County Clerk's office, Decatur, Illinois. He is supposed to have died in Illinois in 1851 or 1852.²⁹

THE LOG CABIN ON THE SANGAMON, 1830-1831

After camping for one night in Decatur, the Lincoln-Hanks caravan proceeded northwest to the home of John Hanks, who offered them a place on the Sangamon river which he had at one time picked out for himself, not far from the farm of his father, William Hanks, Senior, in what is now Harristown Township. John had cut logs there for a cabin, but for some reason had changed his mind and settled near Boiling Springs. The *History of Macon County* by Brink has it, that he failed to get prairie broken. That is not unlikely, for my grandfather, David Davis, and his brother-in-law, William D. Baker, who settled on section 20, township 16, range 3 east, also failed in 1829 to break the prairie sod with a four-horse team, and had to do with the little they could clear in the timber. This is told by Marilla Baker, wife of William D. Baker, in an old letter dated June 4, 1829.³⁰

²⁹William Hanks, Jr.: *original entry*, B, County Clerk's office, p. 100. *Decatur Herald*, Nov. 22, 1929; *H. I. Baldwin*, Decatur, Ill.; Original poll list and tally list for Decatur, 1830, *Renshaw's ledger*. *Story of Decatur*, Hitchcock, Chap. 13; Will and death, Box 5, no. 122; Mrs. Smallwood, *Decatur Herald*, March 8, 1914. William Hanks, Sr.: *The Prairie Years*, Sandburg, p. 180; *Original Entry Book of Macon county*, p. 41, County Clerk's office; Mrs. M. E. (Hanks) Manon, Eureka, Cal.; Letter owned by Frank Sawyer, R. R. 7, Decatur; *Lineage of Lincoln*, Barton, p. 378; *Book J*, p. 499, Deeds in Recorder's office, Decatur; Lucy Hanks, *Lineage of Lincoln*, Barton, p. 212.

³⁰*History of Macon county*, Brink, p. 204; Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 390; Vol. 2, p. 213; *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, p. 60; Letter of Marilla Baker, in possession of Clara Baker, Decatur, *Decatur Herald*, May 7, 1922—June 7, 1929; *Decatur Review*, June 4, 1929.

At the place chosen, Abraham dragged the logs together with a yoke of oxen, and all hands pitched in and built a cabin, smokehouse, and barn. Mrs. Cameron, who later went to school in the cabin, said it stood on a high bluff a hundred feet or more back from the brow and three hundred feet above Whitley's mill, and so one could look straight down into the river. The old map in the Lincoln Room of the Decatur Public Library places it near the mill, in the S. E. quarter of the S. W. quarter of section 28, township 16, range 1 east of the Third Principal Meridian. As the cabin was still standing in 1864 and part of 1865, there would be no excuse for placing it wrongly, for the map was published in 1865. The cabin was made of hewed timber, hewed with an ax and broad ax. The doors and floor were made of puncheons, and the gable end by the chimney was boarded up with plank "rived" by Abraham's hand out of oak trees. The nails used, and they were few, were brought from their old home in Indiana. It was only 16 by 16 feet square.³¹

Some time in April, 1865, the logs were carefully numbered and taken down by John and Dennis Hanks, and Dennis' son-in-law, James Shoaff, and the cabin set up again at the corner of Randolph Street and Wabash Avenue, Chicago, at the Sanitary Fair. In taking down the cabin, at least one log was found to be decayed, so John Hanks "restored" it with a log taken from his own log barn, as told me by Mr. Perry Vance of Elwin, Illinois, a boy of sixteen at the time, whose father was working for John Hanks and helped to move the cabin. Mrs. Mary Hanks Manon, the only living daughter of John Hanks, saw it and said it looked very nice. Later it was shown in Boston on the Common. It is said that the people were much affected at the sight of the rude home of the dead President. John Hanks also sold canes made from the celebrated rails that

³¹*Life of Lincoln*, Holland, p. 39; Lamon, p. 75; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909.

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Lincoln split, and found a fine market, so much so that he sent back for more wood. Like the Pilgrim in Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*, who said he would never run out of mementoes of St. Paul from Mars' Hill, so long as he could get to a sandbank,—so John Hanks' family never let him run out of wood to make genuine Lincoln canes! At least, so the story runs in Macon County. This much is true, anyway. Thomas Shoaff paid \$14.00 express charges on rails shipped to Boston.³² Mrs. Mary Ellen Hanks Manon seems to think the cabin was shown in New York and later in Philadelphia as well. Mr. Thomas Shoaff emphatically denies this, and backs it with an affidavit saying that it was sold to an Englishman and shipped abroad, but lost in transit. Mrs. Manon has in her possession a letter, a copy of which follows, which shows that there was talk of shipping it abroad, and of John Hanks going with it.³³

State of Illinois, Executive Department
Springfield, April 6, 1867.

John Hanks, Esq.,
Decatur, Illinois.

My dear old Friend:—I learn you are about leaving your home in Macon County to visit France and perhaps other nations of Europe, and that you contemplate taking with you the Old Log Cabin built by you and Abraham Lincoln in Macon County, Illinois, more than thirty-six years ago, and occupied by Mr. Lincoln and his Father and family when they resided in the County. I sincerely hope you may have a pleasant journey and that in every respect it may prove profitable to you.

The relation of friendship you bore to Mr. Lincoln, the acknowledged fact that this is the log cabin you and he built, that you were common laborers for several years, that you were closely related to each other, and

³²*Boston Evening Transcript*, June 15, 1865; *Decatur Herald*, July 10, Aug. 4, 8, 27; *Letter* of Mrs. Mary E. (Hanks) Manon to Frank Sawyer, R. R. No. 7, Decatur, Ill.

³³*Affidavit* of Thomas Shoaff, Shelbyville.

EDWIN DAVIS

that Abraham Lincoln always respected you and uniformly spoke so respectfully and kindly of you in all the honored positions held by that honored and noble man who sprung from the humble walks of life, endear you to us all, and all of Mr. Lincoln's friends hold you in most kindly remembrance and are and will be rejoiced to hear of your success in life. I hope when you end your visit in Europe you will not fail to return the humble Old Log Cabin to your home. Rough as it looks, knowing as I do that it was the real house and home of Mr. Lincoln, we prize it highly as we do everything connected with his great name. To all of us who have been familiar with the cabin for more than (30) years and who know you gave the logs to Mr. Lincoln and aided Abraham Lincoln to put it up it is a most interesting relic. Should it become necessary to read this letter to anyone in Europe to satisfy any doubts upon the points of its identity and real history you are at liberty to do so.

Again hoping you may safely return to your former home in Illinois largely benefitted by the experiences of travel, I remain

Very respectfully,

Your friend,

Richard J. Oglesby
Governor of Illinois.

However, John Hanks never went to Europe; but he did spend some time in the Eastern States. He said that the people, especially the ones from abroad, seemed more anxious to see him than they did the cabin, and nearly all wanted his picture. I can understand this, for I am "as pleased as Punch" that I once saw John Hanks at some gathering in Decatur.³⁴ My mother said, "Look, there is

³⁴My brother, Charles Davis, and my sister, Mrs. Louis Myers, think this gathering was the reunion of Grant's old regiment, the Twenty-first Illinois, held at the old Fair-ground, now Fairview Park, in Decatur, on the seventh of October, 1880. My brother sat on the steps, a boy of eleven, and was one of the first to shake hands with General Grant. I cannot remember seeing Grant, Logan, or Oglesby on the platform, though I do remember they held me up to see General Grant go by in the parade down town. See the *Decatur Republican*, Oct. 7, 1880.

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John Hanks!" and of course I looked, though why he was worth looking at I was too small to know. All I saw him do was to spit over the edge of the platform. Daniel Good, who knew him well, says he was an artist at the art of ex-pectoration, so maybe it was the art that made me remember it! In spite of, or perhaps because of, his blunt matter-of-fact ways, John Hanks was a picturesque figure, and is so used in at least two plays. He spent a busy and eventful life, and was in the public notice for years. He is said to have made twelve trips to New Orleans by flatboat; he was an early settler of Macon County and was called on both the first and second grand jury; he was a ranger in Captain Johnson's company during the Black Hawk War, and later joined the gold rush. He was wagon-master in Grant's old regiment, and made three trips to the western coast after the war.³⁵

The beginning of his fame was when he helped Lincoln split the honey-locust and walnut rails to fence the ten or fifteen acres of sod corn that helped to keep soul and body together in the Lincoln family during the "Winter of the Deep Snow." Of these rails Lincoln said that he (Lincoln) probably made the most, as he was the stronger. Dennis Hanks adds that "He was a master hand at mallin' rails; my, how he could chop! His ax would flash and bite into a tree and down it would come. If you heard him fallin' trees in a clearing, you would say three men were at work by the way the trees fell. He could sink an ax deeper into wood than any man I ever saw."³⁶ The rails from this fence are the best-known rails in the world,—the ones famous in song and story, with which Dick Oglesby pulled off the grand-stand play at the State Convention in Decatur, with

³⁵*History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 390; Vol. 2, p. 213; Smith, p. 82. *Prairie Years*, Sandburg, p. 291, wedding, Vol. II.

³⁶Lincoln as a woodsman: *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 1, p. 43; *Historical Journal*, April 5, 1914, p. 57; *Shelby County Leader*, Lincoln Anniversary, Feb., 1928.

John Hanks as a star; the performance which roused so much enthusiasm for "Lincoln the Rail-splitter" among people who worked with their hands. Before the Convention, Dick Oglesby and John Hanks went down to the old log cabin, brought back two walnut rails, and took them to Isaac Jennings' carpenter shop on North Main street, across the alley north of where the First Presbyterian Church now stands. Oglesby produced a banner and John Hanks nailed it to the rails. They carried it down the street like a litter to the Wigwam, which was on State street, just south of Central Park. Lincoln was hurried to the platform by passing him from hand to hand over the heads of the crowd. At the psychological moment Oglesby rose and said that an old time Democrat of Macon County wanted to make a contribution to the convention. All was attention and excitement as John Hanks marched down the aisle with the banner held high so all could see, with Isaac Jennings bringing up the rear. On the banner was the following inscription:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THE RAIL SPLITTER FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860
Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made by John Hanks and
Abe Lincoln
Whose father was the first pioneer in Macon County.

(The last line of which was a campaign lie!) The crowd went wild, and yelled for a speech from Lincoln. He arose, his head nearly touching the roof, and said, "I suppose you want to hear about these," pointing to the rails; "John and I did make some rails. I do not know whether these are the rails or not, but I do know I have made a heap better ones, and could do it again!" My father, Sylvester Davis, who was present, always insisted he said "better ones," and "Uncle Joe" Cannon bears him out in it.

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Isaac Jennings, John Hanks' companion in the stunt, was later Commissary Sergeant in "Macon County's Own," the Hundred and Sixteenth Regiment, and was sheriff and city marshal after the war. He was the carpenter that built the Wide-Awake Republican pole, which had its ups and downs, but was finally planted so firmly that the stump was still there when they graded to lay the rails and pave Lincoln Square. It was set east of where the Green Lantern now is, and was made in sections, so as to be taller than the Democrat Hickory pole. Comrade Henry Dunham, who lives on West Eldorado street, Decatur, still has two chips from the pole. In later years Isaac Jennings lived across the road from the southwest corner of the Country Club grounds, at the junction of Turkey Hollow and Davy's Branch. Still later he lived south of Rea's Bridge on land now covered by Lake Decatur. He died at his son's home in Hickory Point.³⁷

To return to the Lincoln log cabin, the land where it stood is now owned by James T. Whitley. The old mill dam is still there. (August, 1929.) Mr. Whitley says that there were two great men born there, who knew all about the cabin and where it stood; but that Lincoln is gone and can't tell, and he is a Democrat and won't tell. The only thing wrong with this statement is that Mr. Whitley is too modest, as Lincoln was born in Kentucky!

There are three pictures of this cabin in the Lincoln Room in the Decatur Public Library. One shows the chimney with the up and down boards, and John and Dennis Hanks standing in front of it. Another is the same view, with John Hanks, and, Thomas Shoaff says, his father, James Shoaff. The third view is of the other side and is certified by Governor Oglesby that it is the genuine

³⁷*Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909; *Life of Lincoln*, Tarbell, p. 339; *Uncle Joe Cannon*, Busbey, p. 115; Isaac D. Jennings; *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 54, 114; *Nelson*, Vol. 1, p. 320; *Decatur Review*, Oct. 23, 1910; Pole: Frank Jennings, Casner; Thomas Shoaff; Henry Dunham, Decatur.

Lincoln Cabin. It is a little hard to believe that it is a picture of the same cabin as the others. The only explanation I can think of is that the third picture was taken after it had been moved and probably had another roof, and had been touched up to look as if it were in a rural setting. Thomas Shoaff has the original picture from which the one of John Hanks and Dennis Hanks standing in front of the cabin has been enlarged.

SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1830

"In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love." In Lincoln's case this spring it seems but the natural admiration of a young man of twenty-one for any pretty girl who seemed friendly. It is said that he showed some attention to Mary (Polly) Warnick, daughter of William Warnick; but as she was married to Joseph Stevens by Commisioner Elisha Wilson, on June 17, 1830, it would not seem to have been a very desperate affair. Though Joseph Stevens boasted as long as he lived that he had cut Lincoln out! And maybe he did; anyway he got the girl.

Joseph and Dorus Stevens entered 80 acres in section 8, on Stevens' Creek, on March 26, 1830. On December 25 in 1832, Joseph Stevens was living in Decatur near Lincoln Square, probably on lot 6, block 2, just north of the Green Lantern. Later he lived south of the river in South Wheatland Township. In the sixties he lived on West Main street, in the third block, on the south side of the street. He died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Harriet Deakins, on the James Ward place at Mt. Gilead, and was carried past two cemeteries on the old Springfield road, and buried with his first wife, Mary (Polly), in the Warnick-Huddleston cemetery in which his father-in-law, William Warnick, was also buried. This was on the first land Warnick ever owned in Blue Mound Township.

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Joseph Stevens was the county treasurer from 1835-1837; then came James Renshaw, who resigned, then George R. White served from April, 1837, till September 17, 1837, when David Davis began his service as treasurer of Macon County (resigned March 9, 1839). As far as I know White is not mentioned as treasurer in any history of Macon County.⁸⁸

Jemima Hill, sister of Francis Green Hill, is also mentioned as a girl Lincoln escorted home from some gathering. In 1830 there was a log school house on the old Springfield road, near where Bethlehem Church now stands, in which "a little Yankee named Nelson" taught. Lincoln attended "singin' school" and "spellin' school" here, and if he gallantly saw Jemima Hill home there might have been "method in his madness," for he would not have had to walk out of his way more than a few steps, whether he was staying at his father's house or working for William Warnick. Jemima Hill joined a Methodist class meeting in 1829 or 1830 that was started by Rev. William L. Deneen, the grandfather of Senator Deneen in the home of Commissioner Benjamin Wilson who lived on the north side of the old Springfield road in section 34, Blue Mound Township.

Jemima Hill married Nelson L. Taylor in 1835. He owned eighty acres in the same section on which Mt. Gilead Cemetery is located and a half lot in block 2 in the original town of Decatur. In 1838, February 10, they seemed to be living in Decatur, but before the year was out they were in the County of Sangamon. In 1849 she married Joseph A. Higlin. A peculiar thing is that she signed her name to a deed in 1838, but when she and her second venture sold some land in the same section, where the Huddleson house now is, she and her husband both made their

⁸⁸*Women Lincoln Loved*, Barton, pp. 156-164; *Original marriage records of Macon County*, p. 1; *History of Macon County*, Coleman, Chapter 7; *Old Treasurer's Book of Macon County*, Treasurer's office, Decatur.

mark. I have noticed this in the case of other people too; sometimes Joseph Stevens signs his name, and sometimes he makes his mark, and the same with Nancy Miller. At Jemima Hill's first wedding the Rev. Moses Clampit performed the ceremony, at her second marriage William A. Austin tied the knot. William A. Austin was justice of the peace in the county for forty-two years, and Lincoln is said to have borrowed books from him, in particular a life of Napoleon Bonaparte, who seemed to have a special fascination for Lincoln. William Austin was brother to the county surveyor, Benjamin Austin, and helped him lay out the original town of Decatur.³⁹

Lincoln worked this summer as a farm hand, splitting rails, plowing, harvesting, and in the fall, gathering corn, mostly in the company of John Hanks. One would like to know where he was when John chinked and daubed the court house. It is said that he made rails for Mrs. Nancy Miller to pay for a pair of much-needed trousers, four hundred rails for each yard of brown jeans cloth. (Anyone who ever wore homespun jeans can still feel it scratch!) As it took several yards to cover Lincoln,—“long-legged Abe,” they called him—it is no wonder he is described as wearing trousers with holes in the knees and too short in the leg, for as he said himself, his father “learned him to work, but never learned him to like it.”

Dr. Holland, who wrote his *Life of Lincoln* soon after the latter's death (it was published in 1866), is supposed to have made a personal investigation of the things he wrote about this section of the country. The writers since

³⁹Jemima Hill: *Women Lincoln Loved*, Barton, pp. 157-163; *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 159; *Frank Hill*, Decatur; *Marriage records of Macon County*, pp. 4-16; *Deeds*, W½ of Lot 4, block 2, Recorder's Office; *Entry Book*, County Clerk's office, p. 82; *Recorder's Office*, p. 104. School—Austin: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 291; Nelson, Vol. 2, p. 629; *Mrs. Becky Rose*, R. R. No. 4, Decatur.

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seem to have repeated his story about Mrs. Miller with little, if any, research.⁴⁰ But who was Nancy Miller?

Mr. Walter C. Groves, of Carlinville, Illinois, is writing a statement, to be backed by affidavit, to prove that his grandmother, the wife of William Miller, was the woman who wove this famous cloth. His story runs this way: William Miller, and his father, Benjamin Miller, came to this county from Pennsylvania, and William squatted on section 28, just west of and in sight of Thomas Lincoln's cabin. Lincoln, needing a pair of trousers, made a bargain with Mrs. Miller to weave the cloth and make him a pair in exchange for his splitting her eleven hundred rails. When Lincoln undid the bundle, he found to his surprise a waistcoat as well, and asked the reason for that. Mrs. Miller said, "You need the coat, don't you?" and he admitted he did, and made fourteen hundred more rails to pay for it. According to Jimmy Sanders, a professional railsplitter, 37½ cents in trade or 25 cents in money was considered a fair price for making a hundred rails. At this rate the suit cost him \$9.37½ or \$6.25 in honest-to-God money. The fly in the ointment about all this is, that William Miller's wife's name was not Nancy, but Mary.⁴¹

Mary Y. Braden, at the time Lincoln lived in the county, was the wife of Henry Wheeler, who worked on the log court house in 1833, and was a brother of Sheriff Wheeler. Henry Wheeler died in 1833, in July, and his widow, in April, 1834, was married by Isaac Pugh to David Miller (not William Miller). David Miller entered 240 acres in

⁴⁰Nancy Miller: *Life of Lincoln*, Holland, p. 41; *Madison*, p. 116; *Gordy*, p. 34; *Morse*, Vol. 1, p. 16; *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, p. 314. Trousers short and out at knees: *Life of Lincoln*, Holland, p. 41. George Cluse—Voted in Decatur, Aug. 2, 1830. *Life of Lincoln*, Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 68; *Brock*, p. 45; *Curtis*, p. 28.

⁴¹Price for making rails: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 279. Mary Y. Miller: *Original Entry Book*, Recorder's Office, 120-121; *Marriage Records*, p. 3; *Estate of Henry Wheeler*, Box 1, no. 13; *History of Macon County*, Smith, pp. 268-294; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Macon County*, p. 424.

section 3-4 in what is now Decatur, the first 80 in 1828, and was one of the judges in the first election held in the log court house.

In *The Paternity of Lincoln*, by Barton, p. 404, is an extract from a letter by Mrs. Mary Ellen Manon, daughter of John Hanks, which says that Nancy Hanks, the daughter of William Hanks, Senior, and sister of John, James, and William Hanks, Junior, therefore first cousin removed of Lincoln, married a Miller, whose first name is not mentioned. In a letter to Frank Sawyer, R. R. No. 7, Decatur, dated September 14, 1930, she says: "Mr. Miller's given name is William. His wife is my aunt, Father's sister." A William Miller entered the east $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 15, on January 1, 1830. This section is just north of the one in which William Hanks, Senior, entered his land, and is side by side with the 80 Charles Hanks entered the same year in section 14, all in Harristown Township. In fact William Miller's land is nearly surrounded by Hanks' land, as Joseph Hanks owned the 40 west, and William the 40 west of that, but not till 1835, and is a little over two miles northeast of the cabin of Thomas Lincoln. His wife's name was Nancy, and she so signed it. That they were intimate with the Hanks family is shown by the fact that a William Miller and Nancy Miller were witnesses of the will of William Hanks, Junior, drawn in 1843. William Hanks, at this time, owned a farm, in what is now Long Creek Township, on the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 17, though his house was probably over the line in Decatur Township in section 18, near Beverly Heights and not far from where Davy's Branch empties into Lake Decatur, and died there in 1846. After a diligent search of the records of Macon County, it would seem that she was the only Mrs. Nancy Miller in the county in 1830. There was a Nancy Haddock, who married Reuben Miller, but not till 1835, and no connection is shown with the Lincoln-Hanks

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family. James Hanks' oldest daughter was named Nancy, and she married Abe Miller in 1838. That she could and did weave, as could all the older generation of the Hanks women, is remembered by her nephew, Irvin Heckel, and his older sister, Mrs. Veech. She was nine or ten years old the year Lincoln lived here, old enough to weave cloth, and was doubtless well acquainted with Lincoln, as she was his second cousin; but her name was not Nancy Miller in 1830-1831.⁴²

Lincoln and John Hanks made rails this year for William Warnick and if they were from trees on ground that he really owned, it was on the west $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 35, land which he had bought from his brother-in-law, Benjamin Wilson, in January, 1830. This land is less than 800 feet west of the Huddleson House. There is a walnut rail now in the Huddleson House, that was kept by Robert Huddleson, and is said to be from a lot of 3,000 made by Lincoln.

Lincoln also worked for Warnick in the harvest during this summer. A story is told of this time that while the hands were straightening their backs in a short rest, big Jim Owens said, "Abe, I can throw you and hold you down." Lincoln replied, "Maybe you can, but I don't believe it." There was no argument over conditions or holds, there was no bet, they merely got down from the fence where they had been resting. Mr. Warnick warned them that no fighting was allowed, as he knew that such struggles often started a fight. Both assured him there would be no hard feelings, whoever won. They clinched, and Abe promptly threw his man. He was still holding him down when Jim Herrod came with a bucket of drinking water. "I have always heard," said Herrod, "that the best way to part two fighting dogs is to throw cold water on

⁴²*Original Entry Book*, Recorder's Office, Decatur, p. 47; *Deeds*, Book A, 205; Book 13, p. 162; *Will*, Box 5, no. 122; *Marriage records*, pp. 4-7.

them." Which he did, and ran. Both men were soaked and Owens was muddy. He was also mad, partly at his defeat and partly from his soaking, but he made no attempt to provoke a fight.⁴³

James Owens was called on the first and second petit jury and later as grand juror in 1831. He was the first man to vote at Ward's in the election held June 20, 1829,—the first election held after the county was divided into two voting precincts. James Herrod was a private in the Black Hawk War, absent with leave according to the report of Captain Isaac Pugh on May 27, 1832.⁴⁴

In 1829 there came to Macon County a rather unusual character known by the old settlers for many miles around as a man of great strength and endurance, and called by everybody "Uncle Jimmy Sanders." He seems to have lived at this time in the Stevens settlement, and is listed as the head of a family of seven in the 1830 census of Macon County. That he lived north of the Sangamon river is shown by the fact that he was the fifth man to vote in the August election in 1830, at the court house. He was a pal of Lincoln, going with him to weddings and house-raising, and fishing with him on Sunday in the Sangamon. Lincoln was never much of a disciple of Izaak Walton, but did like to loaf in the shade on the bank of a river and talk, in congenial company.

There is a tradition among the grandchildren of Polly Warnick that Lincoln was at her wedding, and it is very probable, as they lived in the same neighborhood and Lincoln was quite closely associated with both families. There were but nine weddings during the year that Lincoln lived

⁴³Working for Warnick:—Wrestling: *Deed*, Book A, p. 20, Recorder's Office; *Decatur Review*, June 5, 1910; *Entry Book*, p. 56, Recorder's Office; *History of Macon County*, Nelson, Vol. 1, pp. 312-318; *Prairie Farmer*, *The Prairie President*, Warren, p. 10, Dec. 28, 1929; *Life of Lincoln*, Barton, Vol. 1, p. 141.

⁴⁴James Owens—James Herrod: *Poll list*, 1829, Macon County, County Clerk's Office; *Commissioners' Book* of Macon County, pp. 7, 14, 35; *History of Macon County*, Smith, pp. 47, 60.

in the county, and the county was twice as large as it is now, so it is probable that this was one of the weddings that Jimmy Sanders tells about. John Smith, in his *History of Macon County*, says: "Jimmy Sanders, in a general trial of strength among those present, took a piece a lead, seventy-five pounds in weight, in each hand, and raised them on a level with his shoulders, and then passed them around straight in front until they touched each other." To paraphrase Lincoln, that sort of thing is the sort of thing that the sort of man Lincoln was would like!

Uncle Jimmy used to tell with pride, as one of his greatest achievements, that at one time in a wrestling match he threw Abe Lincoln, who had thrown the bully of the county. He admitted that Lincoln did make a few rails, but rather ran him down as a railsplitter; that, however, was mere professional jealousy, for Jimmy fancied himself as an artist in rail making.

A peculiarity of his was that, winter or summer, he went with his shirt unbuttoned. (He was born before his time,—he would be right in style now!) In after years, at a meeting in Decatur in which Lincoln was to be the drawing card, there was speculation as whether Jimmy would show up with his shirt unbuttoned as usual. But he rose beautifully to the emergency, made an heroic effort, and appeared all dolled up in a white shirt, collar and everything, to do honor to his old pal.

It was Uncle Jimmy who gave the advice to Lincoln the last time he saw him, just before Lincoln went to Washington, "Now, Abe, don't do any wrong!" To which Lincoln replied, "I won't if I know it, Jimmy." In later years James Sanders lived just over the line in Christian County.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Jimmy Sanders: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 278; Sylvester Davis; Mrs. Becky Rose; W. D. Moffett. Fishing—Feats of strength: *Life of Lincoln*, Morgan, p. 38; Rothchild, p. 28; Madison, p. 156.

Lincoln seems to have acquired a fondness for public speaking in Indiana, and still had it. There are several speeches he is said to have made this summer, one of them in Warnick's harvest field the evening after the wrestling match. John Hanks tells of another speech thus: "After Abe got to Decatur, or rather to Macon County, a man by the name of Posey came into our neighborhood and made a speech. It was a bad one, and I said Abe could beat it. I turned down a box and Abe made his speech. The other man was a candidate, Abe wasn't. Abe beat him to death, his subject being the navigation of the Sangamon river. The man, after Abe's speech was through, took him aside and asked him where he had learned so much and how he could do so well. Abe replied, stating his manner and method of reading, and what he read. The man encouraged him to persevere."

My grandfather, Nathan Newton Baker, heard this speech, or if not this one, another by Lincoln on the same subject. As told me by my mother and grandmother, he spoke from a goods box in front of a store near Lincoln Square, and following some other speaker whose name they did not know or failed to mention. The people gathered there expected some fun, as he was poorly clothed, awkward, and barefoot. But he made a fine speech and was roundly cheered. He wanted the Sangamon river declared navigable and improved as far as Decatur. The *Life and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln* by William Dean Howells includes William Lee Ewing as one who also made a speech on this occasion, and indicates that Lincoln made the best speech of the three. The *Story of Decatur* by Hitchcock, also tells of a speech made by Lincoln in front of the Renshaw store and tavern.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Speeches—Posey: *The Great Good Man*, Barton, p. 76; *Life of Lincoln*, Herndon, p. 62; Lamon, pp. 40-78; Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 1, p. 38.

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John F. Posey and William Lee Ewing were elected to represent this district, which consisted of Fayette, Bond, Montgomery, Shelby, Tazewell and Macon. When Shelby County was first organized it was divided into two voting districts. District number 2 consisted of all the country in the county north of township 13, North,—this included Moweaqua. The voting place was to be the home of Leonard Stevens, who lived on the creek named in his honor, three miles northwest of Decatur. James Ward, Philip D. Williams, and Elisha Freeman were appointed judges of election, and if they did their duty, they held an election on August 4, 1828, in which Easton Whitton, or as it is generally spelled, Whitten, was defeated for Representative to the Legislature. The presidential election in which Andrew Jackson was elected President, was held on November 3, 1828.

When Macon County was set off from Shelby, the first election was held at the home of James Ward. The first commissioners' court divided Macon County into two precincts, all south of the river to vote at Ward's, and all north of it to vote at the home of Parmenius Smallwood, to be called Decatur. Mr. Smallwood lived near where the St. Teresa's Academy now is, and Colonel James Johnson lived across the road and north, in section 34. In 1836 Johnson was living in Pike County, Illinois. On June 7, 1830, on petition, the court changed the voting place of this precinct to the court house in Decatur, so the election of August 2 was held there. The judges of this election were David Miller, David Owen, and Jonathan Miller, and the clerks were M. C. Shaw and Andrew W. Smith. John Posey received fifty-four votes and Ewing eighty-six votes in Decatur. The judges at Ward's were William D. Baker, William Ward, and William Freeman, and the clerks were William A. Austin and David Davis. Posey got only nineteen votes at Ward's to Ewing's fifty. Easton Whitten "also

ran" again, with three votes in Decatur and six at Ward's. But he was a persistent man, and was later elected to the Legislature from Montgomery County, serving in 1836-1838, and also in 1842-1844.

In 1836-1838, Lincoln was serving his second term, and as leader of the "Long Nine," by swapping votes managed to change the Capital to Springfield. Posey probably owed some of his importance in the House to the fact that Ewing was from the same district and was well acquainted with him, and Ewing was elected as Speaker of the House. It seems probable that both men were from Fayette County, though the *Blue Books* of Illinois contradict each other on this. Posey was quite active in the House. He was a road fan, and wanted a road made from Vandalia by way of Shelbyville to Chicago, and a bridge built over the Okaw east of Shelbyville. He wanted the State House repaired, and served on the committee to see it well done. He also advocated voting by the ballot system. But like the rest of his generation he was short sighted enough to be willing to sell school section number 16. Your taxes and mine this spring will show the result. The Governor, Reynolds, afterwards admitted that it had been a poor policy, but that the case had seemed desperate, as the children were growing up in ignorance. But the most interesting thing from a Lincoln standpoint is this extract from the House Journal. (January 31, 1831, p. 294.) "On motion of Mr. Posey, Resolved by the House of Representatives, That the committee on Internal Improvements be instructed to inquire into the expediency of opening the navigation of the Sangamon river as far as Decatur in Macon County." This seems to show that John Hanks and my grandfather were right when they said Lincoln made a good speech, as he convinced even his opponent.

William Lee Ewing was Governor for fifteen or perhaps seventeen days when Reynolds resigned to become Repre-

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sentative, and was later Senator himself. William D. Baker and David Davis both voted for him in preference to Posey.⁴⁷

To return to Lincoln and his public speaking in Decatur, all authorities seem to agree that it took place in front of a store, and as James Renshaw's was the only store in the town at that time, I would suggest that in front of the place where it stood would be the place to put the marker advised by Ida Tarbell in her book, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, p. 164. The Renshaw store and tavern was on the lot where Lincoln Square Theatre now stands. His license to keep a tavern was dated October 26, 1829, and his day book shows beyond question that he sold goods as well. Later the license specifies that he was to keep a tavern and also sell groceries. The reason for thinking his the only store is that no other license had been granted, except the one to Samuel D. Hefton to keep a grocery store "at his present residence or in Decatur as he may think proper," for one year from March 1, 1830. The store of Isaac Pugh, mentioned in Coleman's *History of Macon County*, was not licensed till April 2, 1831.

Samuel Dolliston Hefton was one of the early settlers of the county, living at Mt. Gilead. He kept store there for a while, and had his family, household goods and merchandise all in one room. His stock of goods consisted of a barrel of pale whisky that would freeze up in winter, a small quantity of tin-ware, and a few dollars worth of sugar and coffee. One day someone offered to buy his entire collection of tin-ware at a given price, but he refused because it would "break his stock." He never renewed his license when it

⁴⁷Posey—Ewing—Whitten—Voting places: *Election returns of Illinois*, pp. 249, 58, 238, 296, 371; *Original tally sheet*, 1830, Macon County; *Commissioners' Book*, pp. 3, 8, 16; *History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties*, Brink, p. 56; *Blue Books of Illinois*, in particular 1901, p. 25, and 1911, p. 248; *Journal of the House*, 1830-1832; Parmenius Smallwood, *Commissioners' Book*, p. 64; *Original Entry Book*, p. 120, Recorder's Office; Frank Sawyer, R. R. No. 7, Decatur.

expired. Mr. Hefton was one of the old "forty-gallon Baptist" preachers, and had a truly wonderful sing-song tone to his preaching, like the one in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. This is a sample, taken from Smith's *History of Macon County*, p. 263. "My respected brethren-ah, hell-ah is like takin' a pillow-slip of corn-ah and wadin' the snow-ah and rain-ah, and goin' to Jim Wheeler's mill-ah and gettin' it ground-ah to make mush-ah! You grind and grind and grind-ah! Brethren-ah, that is hell-ah. But, my hearers-ah, there is another good place-ah, which we all expect to go-ah, and when we get there-ah, will feast forever-ah on spareribs, biscuits and coffee-ah, and that's the place we call heaven-ah."⁴⁸

FALL AND WINTER OF THE "DEEP SNOW,"

1830-1831

In the autumn of 1830, the Lincoln family, like most other inhabitants of Macon County, were afflicted by ague and fever. They had not been used to this, and determined to leave the county; but they remained during the winter of 1830-1831, the celebrated "Winter of the Deep Snow," so often told about on Old Settlers' Day by the "Snow-Birds." The platform used to be full of men and women who had lived here during that long, hard winter, and dated events as before or after the deep snow;⁴⁹ but at the meeting held in Fairview Park at Decatur, August 22, 1929, there were only ten that had ever seen Lincoln, and at least one of the number has died since. That the Lincolns were afflicted by sickness that fall is shown by the amounts of "Barks" that Thomas Lincoln bought at James Renshaw's store—"Barks" being a mixture of whiskey and Peruvian Bark.

⁴⁸S. D. Hefton—Renshaw: *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 263; *Commissioners' Book*, pp. 8, 12, 15, 24, 27.

⁴⁹*Autobiography*, F. D. Tandy, p. 12.

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Squire Hall and Dennis Hanks also traded there between August 5 and September 2, 1830.

The snow began to fall in December, and was followed by sleet, forming a crust. This continued at intervals all winter, till the snow was three or four feet on the level and drifted in some places ten or fifteen feet deep. Nathaniel Brown, the first blacksmith in Friend's Creek (Sec. 23), came to Illinois from Tennessee in 1830, just after the snow fell. He moved into a house he bought, and the man who sold it told him it was enclosed by a seven-rail fence. Not a sign of a fence could then be seen, but in the spring when the snow melted it was found to be as represented.⁵⁰ The sun was hidden for days and even weeks at a time, and the temperature dropped away below zero and stayed there for days. It is said to have been so cold that not a particle of snow would melt on the side of the house facing south.

Nicolay, in his *Life of Lincoln*, says that the sons-in-law of Mrs. Lincoln were temporarily settled in other places in the county, and Lincoln is quoted as saying the same in the *Autobiography* published by F. D. Tandy. Dennis Hanks says he bought a small improvement near Lincoln and lived there. Thomas Lincoln (four in family), Dennis Hanks (6), and Squire Hall (5), are all listed as heads of families in the 1830 census of Macon County. Squire Hall seems to have acquired two half-grown girls who were not in the list of thirteen that came in the wagons from Indiana. Nobody seems to know who they were. If only the four in Thomas Lincoln's family lived in their cabin that winter, the stories of the crowded condition are bunk; and even if Squire Hall did live with them, as some think, it would make but nine, not an unusual number by any means for that time and place. Your ancestors and mine lived through conditions as bad or worse. For instance, there were thir-

⁵⁰In the *Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 160; *Decatur Herald*, March 8, 1914; *History of Macon County*, Brink, p. 196.

teen in the Brown family above mentioned. Also, during this winter my grandmother, Talitha Hodge, a girl of sixteen, lived with her mother, Sally (Lindsey) Wilson, the second wife of Robert Wilson, on section 6, township 15, range 4 east, in the northwest part, a half mile south of the Long Creek Township line. That family totalled sixteen in all, three sets of children, one a babe in arms, and they lived the winter of the deep snow in a cabin 14 by 16 feet square. The story is told that Mrs. Wilson called to Mr. Wilson, saying, "My children and your children are pestering our children!" My grandmother's comment was that it was a little crowded, but they got along all right. Her sister, Arrianna, fourteen years old at that time, added that they had lots of fun; but she was the kind that would see fun where Mark Tapley would curl up and die.⁵¹

We catch two glimpses of Lincoln this winter. One is that in crossing the Sangamon to go to William Warnick's, he broke through, or stepped into an air hole, and as his shoes were poor he got his feet wet. In going the two miles or more east through the bitter cold, his feet were badly frozen. Mrs. Warnick was equal to the emergency, and put his feet in snow, "to take out the frost-bite," and if she followed the rest of the good old infallible remedy, greased them with goose grease, skunk oil, or best of all, rabbit fat—indeed, tradition has it that she said: "Yo' froze yo' heel and I'll get my rabbit ile and grease it." During the week or so while his feet were healing, he is said to have commenced his study of the laws of Illinois by reading the sheriff's copy of the Statutes of Illinois. Though as noted before, this was not his first law book.

⁵¹*Shelby County Leader*, Lincoln Anniversary, Feb., 1928; *History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 144; *Life of Lincoln*, Nicolay, p. 20; *Census of 1830*, Courtesy of the Hon. Charles Adkins, and the Census Bureau; *Past and Present of Macon County*, p. 776; *Portrait and Biographical History of Macon County*, pp. 480-486; *Decatur Review*, Feb. 11, 1926.

LINCOLN AND MACON COUNTY, ILLINOIS, 1830-1831

The house where William Warnick then lived was not the Huddleson house, but a cabin across the road and probably farther west, where he had squatted in 1825. At that time money was none too plentiful with him, but after he was elected sheriff money began to come in,—not in large sums, but ready money. As he prospered he bought land; but being sheriff, it was unlikely that anyone would jump his claim, so he bought first the west $\frac{1}{2}$ of the northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 35 from his brother-in-law, Benjamin Wilson, in 1830. In 1833, nearly two and a half years after Lincoln left the county, he bought the east $\frac{1}{2}$ of that section, the land on which the Huddleson house stands, from Robert Peebles. The forty acres he squatted on and the forty just east of it he entered in 1835, but seems not to have received his patent till 1838.

At a commissioners' meeting held on March 7, 1831, and lasting three days, the following order is spread on the Commissioners' Book, on page 25:

"Ordered that a Review of a certain part of the road leading from Springfield to Paris, commencing at Robert Law's farm, leaving the house of William Warnick on the north west, to intersect the said road at the south corner of Francis G. Hill's field, to the north east corner of William Freeman's timber field, thence 2 or 3 poles south of the peach trees of Lewis B. Ward, so as to intersect the road to Samuel Widick's branch. It is ordered that William Freeman, William A. Austin, and Robert Foster be and are appointed commissioners to make said review and report thereof to the next term of the court." Which they did on June 1, 1831. This was the first court held after my grandfather, David Davis, was elected commissioner at the special election held the ninth of April, 1831. He received all the 35 votes in Ward, but 10 of the 56 voters in Decatur voted for James Wheeler for commissioner. In receiving

the report of the commissioners, they used the same words, and added, "the same in enobbled." (Page 32.)

Robert Law was a ranger in Captain Warnick's company, and his place was just west of the first home of the Warnicks. The old Peru school is in the northeast corner of his land. Francis Green Hill lived about three-quarters of a mile east of where the Huddleson house is, and his house was about a quarter of a mile north of the old road. William Austin lived east of Warnick, also on the south side of the road. Frank Ward's house now stands on the place where his house stood. Lewis B. Ward lived north of where Salem church now stands, and his was the first land entered in the county, on November 9, 1827. It is now owned by Mrs. Alice File. William Freeman was a brother-in-law of Ward, and his land was just west in the same section. The road still angles from the Law place to pass the Huddleson house, which is on the north side and angles with the road. The land on which Warnick's first cabin stood now belongs to his granddaughter, Julietta A. Mofett of Decatur.

The Huddleson house was built by Mr. Warnick after 1833, and later it was owned by John Eckle, who used it as the dining-room of his tavern, though the sleeping rooms and the stable were on the south side of the road. It was called the Thirty-three Mile House, as it was thirty-three miles from Springfield. Doubtless Lincoln was a guest at this house, as he was riding the circuit during the time it was used as a tavern. William A. Austin, a great-grandson of William Warnick and a grandson of William Austin, says: "I can distinctly remember the old buildings standing across the road south from the Huddleson house. As a boy I was interested enough to ask many questions concerning my great-grandfather, Major Warnick. My father and grandfather told me the old building on the south side

of the road was Major Warnick's homestead. They always called the Huddleson house the old Eckle place."⁵²

Our second glimpse of Lincoln during this hard winter is when he and John Hanks made their way, with great difficulty, across the Sangamon and east about four miles to a horse mill owned by Robert Smith to get a grist of corn ground. Mr. Smith had been a soldier under General Jackson, and lived a little south of the old road, and southwest of where Bethlehem church now stands. They found him in the field gathering corn. He had succeeded in opening a road to the field, and would drive his yoke of oxen, hitched to a sled, to the end of a row, lift the sled around, turning the oxen in the direction from which they had come, and then gather into a basket the corn exposed above the snow and load it on to the sled. Mr. Smith asked his visitors if conditions were as bad on the other side of the river. "Yes," said Lincoln, "we have to do worse than that, for we have used up all our corn, and now have to go to our neighbors for assistance."

With the spring came Denton Offut, an enterprising speculator with a weakness for hard liquor. The drawback to Illinois at that time was that there was no market for produce. Offut had a scheme to load a flatboat and send it, via the Sangamon, the Illinois, and the Mississippi, to New Orleans. Not being a riverman himself, he wanted an experienced hand to run it. John Hanks just filled the bill, and after a little flattery agreed to go if Abraham Lincoln would go too. John Johnston was added to the party later, and they hired to Offut for fifty cents a day and sixty dollars to be divided among the three at the end of the trip. As the spring rains and thaw had come on, and the roads were flooded with water, John Hanks and Lincoln went

⁵²William Davis—Blue Mound Township: *History of Macon County*, Smith, pp. 280-296; Nelson, Vol. I, p. 315; *Original entry book*, pp. 46, 106, County Clerk's office; *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 162; *Women Lincoln Loved*, Barton, p. 165; *Decatur Review*, June 5, 1910; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909, p. 15.

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down the river to the trysting place in a dugout canoe, and John Johnston joined them later.⁵³

In March, 1830, we see Abraham Lincoln enter Macon County, driving a yoke of oxen from the direction of the rising sun.

In March, 1831, he fades away down the Sangamon river toward the sunset in true movie style.

⁵³*History of Macon County*, Smith, p. 145; *Life of Lincoln*, Lamon, pp. 78-79; Herndon, p. 63; *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, Tarbell, p. 162.

GALENA, LOOKING BACK

BY ALICE L. SNYDER

However you enter Galena, whether by boat, train or highway, the hills stand out in bold relief, the hills that the glaciers passed by and made this corner of Illinois so different from the rest of the State.

The steep hills with their narrow valleys made a difficult location for a town. The houses were built under, on top, and some even into the solid rock of the hills, like the cliff dwellings of old France.

In early days all roads led thither. In Dixon, Aurora, Rockford and Freeport, is still retained a Galena Street. The Mound Builders of the dim past must be considered the first families of Galena, although none can claim descent from them. They vanish long before the first *coureurs de bois* ever came here.

It is supposed they were driven into the Southwest by the wandering Indians of the great Algonquin tribes, leaving only their mounds behind them.

Marquette and Joliet speak of "Mines de Plumb" (lead mines) in this district, although they did not come in here on their way down the Mississippi from the Wisconsin. The fame of these mines spread and even Galena had a part in the Company of the West, the Mississippi Bubble of John Law in 1717.

Previous to this, Le Sueur had reported mines of great wealth on the upper Mississippi, and in August, 1700, he was sent here. With about thirty workmen he ascended a little river, which he named Riviere de la Mine, at that time navigable about two miles above where Galena now stands.

On an old map in the State Department at Washington, the river is called by that name.

The Indians had given to this river the name of Macaube, and to the little stream to the east, the Little Macaube, Macaube meaning in their language, the fever that blisters or small-pox, from which disease great numbers of Indians died some years before the coming of the white man. The Indians returned ten years later and buried the bones in the tops of the mounds at the Portage.

As the literal meaning of Macaube was fever that blisters, the name of the river was called Fever by the settlers, but which had nothing to do with fever and ague or *fèvre* (French for bean) or Le Fevre, an early explorer, which are often given as the origin of the name. Colonel Davenport, agent of the American Fur Company at the Portage, assured my father that Macaube was the Indian name for the river.

All this land was claimed as French territory and became part of the Province of Louisiana, but after the fall of Quebec, 1762, France by treaty, ceded all east of the Mississippi to Great Britain. The English did not take possession until 1765. The first British governor was Captain Sterling, so Illinois became a part of Canada. In 1769 France, by secret treaty, ceded all west of the Mississippi to Spain, so we see later Julian Dubuque's mines called the Spanish Mines. In 1778, when George Rogers Clark captured the British forts in Illinois, this country became part of Virginia, and Patrick Henry our first governor. At the close of the Revolution, Britain formally ceded all this land to the United States.

In 1819 the first house was built within what are now the limits of the present city of Galena, near Shot Tower Hill, then called La Pointe, which for some time was the name of the settlement. Illinois had been admitted as a State in 1818.

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Galena was also called January's Point from a miner from Pennsylvania who brought his wife with him in 1820, thus becoming the first real settler. Later it was called Fever River Settlement, till in 1827 it acquired its present name, Galena.

There are no reliable records of who really came first to the Macaube River, but probably Le Sueur was the first white man to step upon the banks of the river and visit the Lead Mines, then known and worked by the Indians. The squaws did both mining and primitive smelting. Heré was the famous Buck Mine on what is now the Hughlett land.

In 1821 James G. Soulard went from St. Louis to Fort Snelling with supplies, but did not come here to live till 1827. In 1824 the first regular trading house was built by Frederick Dent of St. Louis, Missouri, who was later to become the father-in-law of General Grant.

On the 4th of June, 1826, the first post office was established here, called Fever River, Crawford County, Illinois. The name was changed to Galena, Jo Daviess County, Illinois, December 19, 1827. The county bearing this singular name was organized by the Illinois Legislature in its session of 1826-27, and embraced an immense section in the northwestern part of the state, including the mining district. Galena was its county seat. The name Daviess was proposed by John Reynolds, afterwards Governor of this state, in honor of Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess of Kentucky, "an eccentric man, a distinguished lawyer, a profound scholar, and a great natural orator, second only to Henry Clay. He was killed at the battle of Tippecanoe, 1811, charging at the head of his troops."

The Kentucky influence was strong in the Illinois Legislature, and John MacLean, who was first member of Congress from Illinois, and afterwards Senator, at this time member from Shawneetown, moved, with much Kentucky enthusiasm, to prefix Jo to Daviess, in order to indicate

more distinctly for whom the county was named. Efforts were made later to strike off the Jo, but failed.

The mines at Hamilton's Settlement were first worked by Colonel William S. Hamilton, a son of the distinguished statesman, Alexander Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton came to Illinois early, and was a member of the Illinois Legislature, 1825-1826. In 1828 he moved to the Lead Mines and was an officer in the Black Hawk War. He resided in Iowa County, Wisconsin, from that time till 1849 when he went to California, dying there in 1851.

He was a gentleman of much ability, but of eccentric habits. He never married and though naturally of a social and genial disposition, shunned all society. He adopted great plainness of dress, and while working his mines lived and dressed more coarsely than any of his miners. With his slouched hat, pantaloons rolled to his knees, feet bare, covered with mud and dirt, he would hardly have been recognized as the son of the great American statesman, one of the most polished gentleman of any period or country, but under this rough exterior were a heart of gold and a cultivated mind. Thus some unknown contemporary describes him.

His mother visited him and spent the winter of 1837 and 1838 in Galena, the guest of Mrs. J. P. Bion Gratiot, who then was living in the large house near the Fair Grounds which for many years belonged to the Gratiots. Here during Mrs. Hamilton's stay, my father used often to play chess with her. A story is told of Mrs. Hamilton's being at the first confirmation service at Grace church. The candidates hesitating for a few moments to place themselves before the Bishop, Mrs. Hamilton arose from her seat, saying, "Young people, come forward, you will never regret it."

When my father arrived in 1835, there was but one brick building, Mr. Brush's general store, now occupied by the

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Asmus Hardware Company. There my father obtained his first job. My father came by Erie Canal from Utica, New York, to Buffalo, thence by the Lakes to Cleveland. He was three days and four nights on the boat, went by stage to Cincinnati, where he took another boat for St. Louis, coming later to Galena.

My mother came with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel MacLean, arriving in Galena at 2 A. M., September 25, 1838, after a journey of thirty-three days from Philadelphia. They had come by train as far as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, thence to Wheeling, West Virginia, by stage, where they took the *Eutaw*. The Ohio being low, this boat ran aground on Petticoat Bar, and they were transferred to the *Adventure*, a Galena boat, larger, but more crowded. They made short stops in Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis. My grandmother wrote in a journal of each day's happenings. At St. Louis they took the *Palmyra* for Galena, landing some distance above where the Green Street bridge now stands. The first bridge built there was a drawbridge, as was also the one at Meeker Street. As the house they were to occupy was not finished, the MacLean family remained some time at Carpenter's Hotel. My grandmother was much shocked to have to pass through the bar-room with her young daughters on their way to bed at night, this being the only staircase to the upper story.

The house to which they later removed was on the east side, where now stands the Illinois Central water tank. At the building of the railway it was removed to Third and LaFayette Streets. A little ferry plied between the two sides of the river. It ceased at ten P. M., so if young gentlemen wished to stay a little later, they had to bribe the ferryman to stay on his job. Without sidewalks, the native red clay adhered to visitors' shoes, so a hatchet was always placed at the door, as more useful than a door mat. Sometimes the young men brought their slippers, leaving their

boots outside. My mother told of once venturing out into the mud after several days indoors, when a kind old drayman took pity on her plight and brought her home on his bird-tail dray.

Later there was a bridge at Bouthillier Street where the ferry had been. It broke down with a drove of cattle and was not rebuilt. This is the bridge in the oldest extant picture of Galena Levee, painted by Major A. S. Bender in 1844. When he returned for his first visit in 1885, he gave the picture to my father. Major Bender was an engineer in the office of the United States Superintendent of Mining Lands at Galena from 1843-1847. In 1885 he was employed as an engineer by the Hawaiian government and was engaged in putting in a water supply and a sewerage system in the city of Honolulu. He told us many interesting stories of the Hawaiian royal family. He died many years later in San Francisco, California. The story I heard in my childhood of Major Bender, was that he had such wonderful teeth; in eating a quail, he ate all the bones as well.

The first steamboat to ascend the Fever River was the *Virginia* in 1822, on her way to Forts Crawford and Snelling, with supplies. The first steamboat built at Galena was constructed by the Harris Brothers, of odds and ends brought from Cincinnati, and put together at the Portage in the winter of 1832 and 1833. It was called the *Jo Daviess*, and was the first of a long line of steamboats built by these brothers. James Harris, father of Captain D. S. Harris, came to Galena in a keel boat with his family, April, 1823.

The first houses in Galena were of logs, as were even the smelting furnaces. Nearly all the oak trees in this section were felled for the purpose, so those now standing are second growth. Later these houses were remodeled into frame and much enlarged, like the old Charles Hempstead house, which was taken down to build the Public Library. In

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many of the old brick houses the joists are of hand-sawn oak or black walnut. The native stone was used prior to the brick for building and there are a number of old mills and furnaces as well as houses, of stone still standing. In early days all the heat in the houses was from open fires, even cooking being done in the fire-places, bread being baked in Dutch ovens, if one possessed them. My father, writing to his mother of the way of building houses on the steep hillsides, said you could walk on the roof of the houses built against the hill, look down the chimney and see what they were cooking for dinner. We all can remember that Mr. David Sheean used to sit on the roof of his barn to weed his vegetable garden, when living in the old Newhall house on Bench Street.

The winter of 1838-1839 was an unusually cold one, the river freezing before all the supplies were in; flour was eighteen dollars a barrel. In earlier time Francois Bouthillier, a storekeeper, is said to have so raised the price of flour and other necessities, after an early freeze, that several citizens rode horseback on the frozen river to some settlement lower down, where supplies were to be had, bringing back sufficient for the town on rude sleds, and Bouthillier's goods were boycotted.

Even in winter however, there was much gayety, sleighing parties to the Soulards, the Lytles and the Gratiots, and down the river on the ice, when we hope their coats were warm and thick, for dresses were generally low-necked, winter and summer with sometimes a bertha of lace or embroidered muslin. Their underclothing at all seasons was of fine linen, often embroidered and hemstitched. Handsome goods were offered for sale in the shops. Brocades, bareges and embroidered Thibets and muslins and mulls from India, came by the way of New Orleans. The belles of the 'forties were very well arrayed. There were gay

riding parties in summer; most of the roads were little more than bridle paths, being generally Indian trails.

Game of all kinds was plentiful, from venison to quail. A Christmas dinner would not have been complete without a wild turkey at one end of the table and a baked ham at the other, followed by a blazing plum pudding later. There were wonderful trifles, charlotte russes, floating islands and sparkling calf's foot jelly. Their fruit in winter must be preserved in summer in heavy syrup or brandy,—no Mason jars then—wild strawberries grew in profusion, but there were no fruit stores where fresh strawberries could be bought in January. Nearly every home had its smoke-house where hams, tongues, etc., were flavored by the smoldering green hickory. Then too, the soap kettle was in general use, for which you leached your own lye. Barrels of soft soap were made and if you were skillful, hard soap too.

Housekeeping in early Galena was by no means light. There was no gas, not even kerosene lamps, candles were the universal light until the astral and solar lamps came in vogue, burning lard or whale oil. People made their own candles for common use, and if you possessed moulds, you were considered quite modern. Silver forks had not long been in general use; a little girl seeing them for the first time, said, "Why, you eat with spoons with slits in them."

It was, I believe, in 1836 that the first stage coach ran on what is now Grant Highway. Frink, Walker & Company were the Wells, Fargo & Company of early days. They had operated a stage line from Albany to Buffalo, till the railway supplanted it. Instead of coming the direct, but hilly, route into Galena, they branched off at Nora. One road led to Gratiot and Shullsburg, and the main line continued to Galena by way of Millville and Apple River Canon, coming into Galena by Horseshoe Mound and down Bouthillier street. My mother told me when returning

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from a winter spent in the East, her uncle who was with her gave the driver a good fee to bring the stage into town by daylight, so that her mother, who was watching from the Stahl residence on Bench Street, could see the stage arriving.

There are many buildings in Galena of which the third story on Main Street is the first story on Bench Street, but perhaps the old Carter building (now removed), was the only one where the fourth on one street was the first on the next.

Mr. James Carter and his brother Charles came from Aberdeen, Scotland, the former bringing his bride to Galena, a very lovely lady, but who tried to live just as she had lived in Scotland, and would not light a fire till a certain day in November, because in Aberdeen that was the rule.

It was in 1828 that the largest number of settlers began to arrive. Among the many hundreds who came then were George Ferguson, B. C. St. Cyr and Jesse Morrison. Only the gold rushes to California, to Leadville and the Klondike, could compare with it. In 1829 came Daniel Waun, Frederick Stahl, Emily Billon (afterwards Mrs. Atchison of blessed memory), Charles S. Hempstead, who later was first mayor of Galena, and the Rev. Aratus Kent, who organized the First Presbyterian church with six members in 1831. Owing to the decline of mining in Cornwall and farming in Ireland, great numbers of Cornish and Irish came here. Prospectors poured down the Ohio and up the Mississippi; there were often from ten to fifteen steamboats unloading supplies and loading lead at the Galena levee. J. J. Hill, founder of the Great Northern Railway, was at one time checking freight on these wharves.

From one hundred whites in and around Galena in 1825, the number increased to ten thousand and some say many more. Galena was the base of the military operations during the Black Hawk War in 1832. Black Hawk, himself, was, I believe, never in Galena; when his men, from the top

of Horseshoe Mound, saw the block houses and stockade, they decided not to attack. There were many men here then destined to become famous in history. Two were to be Presidents, Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln. Jefferson Davis, while stationed at Fort Crawford, spent much time in Galena, often meeting Knox Taylor, the General's daughter, whom he afterwards married. General Winfield Scott marched his troops to Galena from Chicago. There were many who afterwards were distinguished in the Civil War; Major Robert Anderson who commanded Fort Sumpter, the Chief of Staff, General Albert Sydney Johnston, later the opponent at Shiloh of General Grant, who then came from Galena. There were also Colonel E. D. Baker, Generals McClernand, Heintzelmann, Twiggs and Atkinson, so it was no wonder Black Hawk was routed.

Lawyers came in large numbers to this mining region where there were so many claims to settle. Some men of great ability, who afterwards became distinguished, Thomas Ford, later Governor of Illinois, Jesse Thomas, Judge of the Supreme Court, Hon. Joseph P. Hoge, representative in Congress, 1843-1847, going then to California, Hon. Thompson Campbell, another representative 1851-1855, who was succeeded by Hon. E. B. Washburne, afterwards Minister to France, under President Grant. The Hon. Thomas Drummond, United States District Judge at Chicago, began practice in Galena, which was his home for fourteen years. John M. Douglas was a lawyer here, and some time later was President of the Illinois Central Railway.

The Prince de Joinville, third son of Louis-Philippe, passed through Galena when making a tour of this country. An ambitious citizen, thinking a speech should be made in his honor, but being ignorant of French, procured a dictionary and wrote an oration, constructing and pronouncing as best he could. The Prince, however, thinking it was

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Choctaw, was quite pleased by it. While mentioning distinguished visitors, we must not forget Joseph Jefferson who spent a winter here as a boy, when his parents were playing with a stock company in the old court house on Main Street. Jenny Lind sang in concert here in the DeSoto House, as did also Carlotta Patti, later.

It seems, that at an early day, Galena was known as the Crescent City of the Northwest, but we are more familiar with its later name of the Lead Mine City.

HISTORICAL NOTES

SCIENCE AND ART

The other night I attended a discussion of History Writing. The fact was duly and dully deplored that no historian or group of historians seems able to write scientifically correct history, and at the same time write it artistically.

Well, primarily, history is not a science. And at the same time, artists are more accurate than scientists. The impressions they create, the pictures they produce and reproduce, are more faithful, more complete.

The botanist dissects a flower. He destroys its symmetry. He charts it, diagrams it, draws it in unnatural settings, positions, segments. He labels the parts with imposing names. Rarely does he color it—the color would detract from the cross-hatching, dotted lines, Latin terms. A man who had never seen a daisy or a lily could scarcely hope to visualize one from a laboratory drawing. But the painter gives it to him whole.

The zoölogist takes a frog entirely out of its habitat. He meticulously splits it open, spreads it out, pins it down, disembowels it, sketches it. The artist gives you *rana halecina* in the swamp, crouching, leaping, living.

The difference between the work of the anatomist and that of the sculptor is the difference between analysis and synthesis, a tearing down and a building up, the one banal, the other inspired.

The artist sees things in the large, in their full proportion, with an appreciative imagination, an imaginative ap-

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preciation. Your scientist, on the other hand, persists in detailed asininity. The artist is sympathetic, indulgent, while a scientist remains critical, hyper-critical, mechanical.

So the historian who writes with literary grace and finesse undoubtedly sets up truer situations, depicts more genuine conditions, generates a more realistic atmosphere, turns out more life-like characters, is less technical, stilted, artificial than his "scientific" colleague who plods along in the rut of erudite inanity, inane erudition.

Prince Hamlet pleads with us "to hold as 't were, the mirror up to nature," not the microscope. "Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor; suit the action to the word, *the word to the action*. . . ."

Frank R. Hall.

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THE NAMING OF A GROUP OF EIGHT ILLINOIS COUNTIES CREATED AT THE SAME TIME

December 25, 1824, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives of the Illinois General Assembly creating eight new counties in the State. The bill was passed by the House December 30, 1824. The bill was amended in the Senate January 7, 1825, the amendment being that the proposed new counties all be named after eight men who became famous during the American Revolution, and on the same day the Senate passed the bill as amended. January 11, 1825, the House concurred in the Senate amendments. The bill was approved and signed by Governor Edward Coles and became a law January 13, 1825.

The eight counties thus created and approved by Governor Coles, January 13, 1825, as they appear in the statute that created them, are Schuyler, Adams, Hancock, Warren, Mercer, Henry, Putnam and Knox. The illustrious men

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after whom those eight fair counties were named are: John Adams, the statesman who nominated George Washington for Commander-in-Chief of the new American army, signer of the Declaration of Independence, first Vice-President and second President of the United States; John Hancock, wealthy aristocrat of Boston, intensely patriotic, President of the Continental Congress, first signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the first Governor of Massachusetts; Patrick Henry, whose eloquent oratory stirred to action the slumbering fire of liberty in Virginia, and who as Governor of Virginia furnished the money for George Rogers Clark and bade him Godspeed when he started to take the Illinois country from the British; Henry Knox, the bold and intrepid artillery officer who brought the cannon from Ticonderoga to aid in driving the British out of Boston, the first Secretary of War in President Washington's cabinet; Hugh Mercer, brave and gallant Scotchman, a captain in the French and Indian War, a general in the Revolutionary War, with Washington in the Battle of Trenton, killed in the Battle of Princeton; Israel Putnam, hero of Indian and French adventure in the colonial wars, bold and vigorous fighter and survivor of numerous battles of the Revolution, and one of Washington's generals; Philip Schuyler, who planned the campaign and prepared the way to stop the advance of Burgoyne's army down the Hudson River; Joseph Warren, the illustrious young orator who made resistance to British oppression popular, and whose untimely death in the Battle of Bunker Hill caused mourning in the homes of all patriots.

Quincy, the capital of Adams County, was named by John Wood, its founder, after Quincy, Massachusetts, the birthplace and home of the historic John Adams and his son, John Quincy Adams. Mr. Wood was Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois from January 12, 1857, to March 18, 1860, and Governor of the State from March 18, 1860, to January

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14, 1861. Our Illinois Quincy is pronounced Quinsy. The Massachusetts Quincy is pronounced Quinzy.

Carthage, the capital of Hancock County, was named after Carthage, the celebrated ancient city of northern Africa. Cambridge, the capital of Henry County, was named after Cambridge, Massachusetts. Cambridge, Massachusetts, was named after Cambridge, England. The English Cambridge was so named on account of its location when founded adjacent to a bridge on the Cam River. Galesburg, the capital of Knox County, was named after Rev. George W. Gale, the founder. Aledo, the capital of Mercer County, was named after Aledo, Spain. Hennepin, the capital of Putnam County, was named after Louis Hennepin, the French missionary and explorer. Rushville, the capital of Schuyler County, was named after Richard Rush, candidate for Vice-President in 1828. Monmouth, the capital of Warren County, was named after the Revolutionary Battle of Monmouth, in New Jersey, June 28, 1778.

It has been erroneously stated in several Illinois publications, including the Illinois Blue Book, that Adams County, Illinois, was named after John Quincy Adams, on account of his being President of the United States at the time the county was created and named. The fact is Adams County was created and named January 13, 1825, while John Quincy Adams was not elected President until February 9, 1825, and he did not become President until March 4, 1825. The Illinois General Assembly which created and named Adams County, adjourned January 18, 1825, and did not reconvene until January 2, 1826. A large majority of the members of that General Assembly were intensely *pro* Andrew Jackson and equally intensely *anti* John Quincy Adams, and would not, on any consideration, vote to name a county after John Quincy Adams. A large majority of the people of Illinois at that time were strongly *pro* Andrew Jackson and they were greatly provoked be-

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cause Daniel P. Cook, who was the only representative in the Congress from Illinois at that time, voted for John Quincy Adams for President instead of Andrew Jackson. As a result of that vote Daniel P. Cook, who up to the time he voted for John Quincy Adams for President was the most popular man in the State of Illinois, was badly defeated by Joseph Duncan, then an almost unknown man in the State of Illinois, at the election in 1826. Every supporter of Andrew Jackson in the State of Illinois ardently believed that their candidate was cheated out of the Presidency of the United States.

William R. Sandham.

Wyoming, Illinois.

AN INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATION BETWEEN ILLINOIS AND CANADA ARISING OUT OF SLAVERY

It is well known that after the acquisition by the United States of the territory north and northwest of the River Ohio, ownership of which had theretofore been denied by the various tribes of Indians, Congress in 1787 provided for its government by what is generally known as the Northwest Ordinance. One of the Articles of this famous Ordinance has often been considered its crowning glory—the Sixth Article provided that “there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.” When it is remembered that this territory had been formally ceded to the United States by the State of Virginia, which claimed sovereignty over it, and that slavery was, as it were, the corner stone of the polity of Virginia, the great significance of this article is apparent, especially when taken in connection with this circumstance, it is remembered that the Representatives in

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Congress of the people of Virginia actually took part in passing the Ordinance.

Unfortunately, however, this article was not always literally obeyed; in some instances, Negro slaves were to be found in many parts of this enormous territory, now the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. One curious instance of such in Illinois forms the subject of this paper.

In the year 1829, one Paul Vallard took a mulatto slave in the State of Illinois, secretly from his master and brought him into the Province of Lower Canada; complaint was made to the Administration at Washington, and the Secretary of State made a formal request to the Administrator of the Government of the Province for the delivery up to the Government of the United States of Vallard for his alleged crime.

Negro slavery as well as Indian slavery (the so-called 'Panis') the old Quebec, as well British as French, had recognized, though the number of either class was not large; after Canada was divided, in 1791, into Upper Canada and Lower Canada, efforts were made in the Parliament to abolish slavery; these, however, were not effective, and it was not until the decision of Chief Justice Monk at Montreal in 1798, declaring he would set free every Negro committed to prison for abandoning his master, that slavery received any real check. An Act of 1797 received a judicial construction that was considered to put an end to legal slavery; and by 1829, it may be considered that slavery was extinct in Lower Canada, though from the point of view of strict law, it existed until finally put an end to by the Act of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster in 1833, 3 & 4 William III, cap. 73 (Imp.) which freed the whole British Empire from this curse—an act which freed 800,000 slaves and was worth the £20,000,000 it cost.

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This then, was the condition of things in 1829, when the request of the Secretary of State of the Washington Administration was received by the Government of Lower Canada. The Administrator of the Government, Sir James Kempt, referred the matter to his Executive Council; and the following is a copy of the official record, kept in the Department of Archives of the Dominion of Canada at Ottawa.

Report of a Committee of the whole Council Present The Honble. the Chief Justice in the Chair, Mr. Smith, Mr. DeLery, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Cochran on Your Excellency's Reference of a Letter from the American Secretary of State requesting that Paul Vallard accused of having stolen a Mulatto Slave from the State of Illinois may be delivered up to the Government of the United States of America, together with the Slave.
May it please Your Excellency

The Committee have proceeded to the consideration of the subject matter of this reference with every wish and disposition to aid the Officers of the Government of the United States of America in the execution of the Laws of that Dominion and they regret therefore the more that the present application cannot in their opinion be acceded to.

In the former Cases the Committee have acted upon the Principle which now seems to be generally understood that whenever a Crime has been committed and the Perpetrator is punishable according to the *Lex Loci* of the Country in which it is committed, the country in which he is found may rightfully aid the Policy of the Country against which the Crime was committed in bringing the Criminal to Justice—and upon this ground have recommended that Fugitives from the United States should be delivered up.

But the Committee conceive that the Crimes for which they are authorized to recommend the arrest of Individuals who have fled from other Countries must be such as are *mala in se*, and are universally admitted to be *Crimes* in every Nation, and that the offence of the *Individual* whose person is demanded must be such as to render him liable to arrest by the Law of Canada as well as by the Law of the United States.

The state of slavery is not recognized by the Law of Canada nor does the Law admit that any Man can be the proprietor of another.

Every Slave therefore who comes into the Province is immediately free whether he has been brought in by violence or has entered it of his own accord; and his liberty cannot from thenceforth be lawfully infringed without some Cause for which the Law of Canada has directed an arrest.

On the other hand, the Individual from whom he has been taken cannot pretend that the Slave has been stolen from him in as much

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as the Law of Canada does not admit a Slave to be a subject of property.

All of which is respectfully submitted to Your Excellency's Wisdom.

The result was that there was no extradition.

Justice of Appeal,
Ontario, Canada.

William Renwick Riddell, LL.D.,
D. C. L., F. R. H. Soc.

THE GREAT ILLINOIS VILLAGE

In a communication to the Illinois State Historical Society, Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of St. Louis University, suggests the definite location of the Great Illinois Village as a subject for exhaustive examination. In *Mid-America* for October, 1931, Father Garraghan summarized the contemporary evidence pertaining to the location, and concluded with the following statement: "A choice must then be made between the Utica site and one near Ottawa. An explicit testimony of LaSalle (*supra*, 11, Margry, 2:122) would appear to fix it (for the year 1680) at Utica; a no less explicit testimony of the same explorer (*supra*, 12) would appear to fix it above Utica and below the Fox, that is, in the locality of Ottawa. The Utica site is the traditional one and has behind it the authority of Parkman, who rested his verdict chiefly on the *Relation des Découvertes*. When he appealed as further evidence in support of the Utica site to Indian relics discovered there, he was less happy in his reasoning, as the relics might very well have been those of the Great Illinois Village laid out at Utica after the erection of La Salle's fort (1683). This, then, is the present status of the problem of the actual site of the Great Illinois Village. The writer has undertaken merely to indicate the historical data available for its solution with such occasional interpretation of the same as he felt to be warranted. The evidence for the Utica site may be characterized as strong and the writer has no mind to minimize

it. He only wishes that due account be taken of documentary data which militate or seem to militate against it. Above all, what he does make bold to suggest is that methods of investigation similar to those employed by Knight and Zeuch in their study of the Old Chicago Portage Route be applied to the problem in hand. The services of some one perfectly familiar with the topography of the Illinois valley and the physical features of the Illinois River within the limits of La Salle and Grundy Counties must be utilized. Only in the light of such acquaintance can the numerous pertinent topographical and physical data embodied in the Margry and other contemporary documents be properly interpreted. When someone with this equipment follows La Salle and other seventeenth-century travellers mile by mile up and down the Illinois River and, with the aid of the narratives they have left behind, checks up distances and physical landmarks, the first and indispensable step will have been taken towards the determination of the actual location of one of the outstanding historical spots in the Middle West, 'the Great Village of the Illinois'."

The Society has a number of copies of Father Garrahan's paper, which is entitled "The Great Illinois Village: A Topographical Problem," and will be glad to send them to those who are interested in the question.

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That the Journal has changed its format is self-evident. The change, let it be understood, is not a mere caprice on the part of the editors. Rather is it an attempt to meet the suggestions of many readers who have found the old Journal too tall for the average book shelf, or disliked the uncut pages, or lamented the lack of title, volume and number on the back strip. For good measure the editors have made a few other changes, which they hope will be found acceptable. At the same time, they have taken advantage of a new volume to issue a double number, and thus to eliminate, at least in part, the gap between the date on the cover and the actual date of publication. In the future every effort will be made to bring out the Journal on time.

On March first, after a service of thirty-one years, Miss Georgia L. Osborne retired from the librarianship of the Illinois State Historical Library and the secretaryship of the Illinois State Historical Society. Seriously injured by an autoist over a year ago, she never completely regained her strength, and felt unable to continue longer in office.

In June, 1901, Miss Osborne was appointed assistant to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, then librarian of the Historical Library. This position she filled with eminent success until the death of Mrs. Weber in 1926, when she was chosen as the latter's successor. Over the thirty-one years of her connection with it, the Historical Library has grown from a small institution known only locally to one of the outstanding libraries of its kind in the United States. For this development Miss Osborne is in large part responsible.

The feeling of those who have come in close contact with Miss Osborne can never be better expressed than it was by

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Miss Margaret Norton in a recent number of *Illinois Libraries*. Miss Norton wrote: "Of Miss Osborne herself it is difficult to write with restraint. One of the most modest and unselfish of women, few except those of us privileged to work beside her realized until she was made chief librarian how capable and efficient she had been. The Library has been her life and no work has been too hard, no reference question too insignificant for her best efforts. Gifted with a remarkably retentive memory and with utmost generosity in putting all her knowledge at the disposal of any who sought her assistance, she has put countless students in her debt. Her numerous friends join in wishing for her a complete recovery of her health and many years of happiness in her new environment."

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in Springfield on May 12th and 13th, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, presiding. The following papers were presented:

George Washington: A Study of His Qualities, by Carl Russell Fish.

Historic Landmarks Along the Highways of Illinois, by George Thomas Palmer.

The Black Hawk War, by John H. Hauberg.

Misconceptions Concerning the Early History of the University of Illinois, by Fred H. Turner.

Lincoln and the Chicago *Times*, by Mrs. L. E. Ellis.

John Kinzie's Place in Chicago History, by James Ryan Haydon.

These papers will be printed, together with an account of the annual business meeting, in the Transactions for 1932.

The Madison County Historical Society held a special meeting at the court house in Edwardsville on May 12, President W. D. Armstrong of Alton presiding. Mrs. C. C.

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Corbett, Miss Laura Gonterman and Mrs. Annie C. Burton, all of Edwardsville, were appointed custodians of the Historical Room in the court house. At the same time plans were made for a midsummer meeting of the society.

On May 2 the Aurora Historical Society held its third annual meeting, President Frank G. Plain in the chair. All officers were unanimously re-elected. They are: President, Frank G. Plain; Vice President, Mrs. A. J. Hopkins; Secretary, Lutz White; Treasurer, H. E. B. Gary.

The feature of the meeting was an address by Dr. Orrin R. Jenks, of Aurora College, who related the story of the founding and growth of that institution. The Society reported a membership of 388, and an attendance during the past eight months of 2,285 at its museum.

On April 25, the Morgan County Historical Society held an anniversary meeting and dinner at the Colonial Inn in Jacksonville. Dr. Carl E. Black presided, and Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the State Society, made a talk on "Springfield and Jacksonville in Pioneer Days."

Announcement has been made that the old State House at Vandalia, which Fayette County has been using as a court house, is to be vacated in favor of a court house to be constructed in the near future.

The Vandalia State House ranks high among the historic buildings of Illinois. Many of the State's most prominent men, Lincoln and Douglas among them, have frequented its halls. It was abandoned in 1839, when the capital was moved to Springfield. It is still the property of the State of Illinois. When vacated by Fayette County, it will be preserved as a historical museum.

On June 11 the Abraham Lincoln exhibit on the grounds of the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Included in the exhibit are replicas of the cabin near Hodgenville, Kentucky, where Lincoln was born; the cabin in which he lived as a young man in Indiana; the grocery store in which he clerked and the Rutledge tavern at New Salem, Illinois; and the Wigwam, the scene of the Chicago convention which nominated him for the Presidency in 1860. Logs from old cabins furnished the material for the log structures, and red clay was brought from Kentucky to aid in creating an authentic setting.

Only the exterior of the Wigwam, which originally stood at Lake and Market Streets, has been reproduced. In the interior will be replicas of rooms from the Lincoln home at Springfield and the White House as it was during Lincoln's occupancy.

To the State of Indiana goes the honor of making the first official location of the Lincoln National Memorial Highway. After exhaustive investigation its commission recommended that the highway be located from a point on the Ohio River opposite Hawesville, Kentucky, over Highway No. 66 through Cannelton, Tell City and Troy, thence in a northwesterly direction over the old Santa Fe Trail through Santa Claus to a point on Highway No. 162 at or near the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial, thence to Gentryville, Selvin, Monroe City and Vincennes. The Governor has accepted the report of the commission, and directed the highway department to proceed with construction.

A new Lincoln statue was unveiled at Wabash, Indiana, on Memorial Day. It is a seated figure of bronze. On a granite base is inscribed: "With malice toward none, with charity for all." Alexander New, of Wabash, presented the

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statue to the town as a memorial to his father and mother, Isaac and Henry New.

At Fort Massac where, in June, 1778, George Rogers Clark and his Kentuckians first touched Illinois soil in their conquest of the Old Northwest, a monument was erected to Clark and his men on June 3. Appropriate ceremonies marked the dedication. Interest was added by the fact that Mrs. Taylor W. Wentzell, who unveiled the monument, is a great-great grand-niece of Clark.

Another event of interest in connection with George Rogers Clark will take place at Vincennes, Indiana, in July, when the George Rogers Clark Memorial Bridge across the Wabash is to be dedicated. The structure, built jointly by the States of Illinois and Indiana, is of seven spans of reinforced concrete and reaches 1,035 feet from abutment to abutment. The bridge is a part of the George Rogers Clark National Memorial now under construction at Vincennes.

On June 9 a unique monument to Vermilion County's first settlers was dedicated. The base is made of stones from historic buildings in the county, among them the first court house and the building where Lincoln maintained a law office. The monument is capped by one of the kettles in which salt was boiled down from the salt springs in pioneer days. It is located on State Route 10 six miles west of Danville. The Governor Bradford Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, was responsible for its erection. At the unveiling ceremonies addresses were delivered by Clint Clay Tilton and Harold Lindley.

One hundred years ago David Barrow founded the town of White Hall in Greene County. On July 2nd, 3rd and 4th a centennial celebration was held. Historical exhibits and pageants portrayed the story of the community.

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Particular emphasis was placed on the part played by pottery in the life of the city, for the first stoneware manufactured in Illinois was made in White Hall, and it has always been an important industry there. The centennial celebration was under the direction of the White Hall Historical Society.

One hundred years ago, also, Dr. Charles Chandler came from Rhode Island to found what later became the town of Chandlerville in Cass County. For many years there were only a handful of cabins in the hamlet, but in 1848 a village was laid out, and in 1858 the town was incorporated. Since then it has grown slowly but soundly. A centennial organization has been formed, and a fitting observance of the one-hundredth anniversary will be held during the summer.

On May 4 the ashes of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll were transferred from Dobbs Ferry, New York where he died in 1899, to Arlington National Cemetery.

Ingersoll's fame as an agnostic has tended to obscure the role he played in the history of Illinois and the nation. Born in New York in 1833, Robert G. Ingersoll came to Illinois in 1851 when his father became pastor of the Congregational church at Greenville. He studied law in Marion and commenced practice in Shawneetown, removing to Peoria in 1857. During the Civil War he commanded the Eleventh Illinois Cavalry, was captured and held prisoner for many months. After the war he attained prominence as a lawyer and played an important part in the Republican party, nationally as well as in the State. During his lifetime he was known no less for his political speeches than for his addresses on religious subjects. His nomination of James G. Blaine in 1876 will long rank as one of the greatest—many believe the greatest—of American political speeches.

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Final interment in Arlington is fitting recognition of those qualities which his anti-religious activities threw into shadow—his service to his country and his love for it.

Since the appearance of the last number of the Journal the following members of the Illinois State Historical Society have died: James J. McComb, Chicago; Edward W. Payne, Springfield; Charles H. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville; and Alexander T. Strange, Hillsboro. Doctor Rammelkamp and Mr. Payne were both directors of the Society, and Doctor Rammelkamp was also a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library. The passing of all these men is a severe loss to the Society.

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LINCOLN AND THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE, 1849

BY THOMAS EWING

When Mr. Lincoln finished his first and only term in Congress in 1849, the administration of General Taylor came in, and Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Home Department (soon called the Interior Department), offered to appoint him Commissioner of the General Land Office, which at that time paid three thousand dollars a year. But Lincoln had promised his friend Cyrus Edwards of Illinois to try to get the place for him and felt committed.

Unfortunately for Mr. Lincoln, the Secretary had as second choice Justin Butterfield of Chicago to whom he tendered the place. Butterfield had been United States District Attorney. He was a fine lawyer and an influential Whig. However, he had his eye on a place in the Treasury Department and as late as the month of June, 1849, the matter was still open. Lincoln subsequently said that he had been told both by the President and the Secretary that, before they were otherwise committed, he could have had the place for the asking but that he had held out for Edwards until informed on June 2d by a dispatch from Washington that the choice was narrowed down to Mr. Butterfield and himself.

In the files of the Interior Department are the following hitherto unpublished letters which cast light on the matter.

From Butterfield to J. J. Brown, Esq.

Springfield, June 7th, 1849.

Dear Sir:

I arrived here day before yesterday, and was at once initiated into the plots of a little cabal here, who regardless of all truth and decency have been manufacturing falsehoods to deceive the Cabinet in relation to the popularity of Lincoln and the unpopularity of myself. This little nest was composed of Logan N. Edwards and some two or three others—but I soon found that the whigs here had rebelled against the gross injustice and iniquity of this self constituted tribunal, and that so far from Mr. Lincoln being the favorite of the whig party here at the place of his residence and in his own strong hold: that he had not so many friends among the leading whigs as I had; and without any solicitation on my part—some fourteen of the leading whigs tendered to me a petition for my appointment signed among others by all the whig officers here, viz, the clerk of the circuit court, county court clerk, Sheriff and Judge of Probate which petition I mailed yesterday to the Hon. C. B. Smith; and the whigs here have offered to get me a petition signed by a majority of the whig voters of Sangamon and Morgan County if I desired it—but I told them that this petition was sufficient, that all I wanted was to contradict the misrepresentation Lincoln's friends had made at Washington, that he was the choice of an "overwhelming majority of the whigs." I am much stronger in the Northern part of the State you know than he is and I have full as much strength in the middle and Southern parts of the State. I was determined to expose the falsity of the representation made by the clique here that he was the choice of the whigs, and that his appointment would be more gratifying to the whig party than my own—Judge Pope you know does not like to interfere in politics or appointments, but he is a just and upright man and is ready to prevent the Cabinet from being deceived by any misrepresentation of facts; he has therefore at my request this day written to Mr. Ewing that the appointment of either Lincoln or myself would be equally gratifying to the whigs; this is all I asked of him; Benj.

Bond the recently appointed marshall who resides in the Southern part of the State has also written a similar letter.

This testimony completely refutes the representations of Lincoln's friends; but it is gall and wormwood to those who have made the misrepresentation. Logan and Lincoln have today both called upon all those who signed the petition which I forwarded to Mr. Smith yesterday and have besought them in the most pathetic manner to retract, but I am informed they have all refused with the exception of one or two against whom they prevailed by threats and menaces. Lincoln and his clique here, have commenced the game to defeat my (appointment) by fraud and misrepresentation, and it is not at all probable they will stop here; they will persevere in it; but the Cabinet will now know what credit to place in their representations. I understand they have got petitions for his appointment circulating among the farmers off at a distance, just as petitions are circulated for the construction or laying out of a road. What these petitions contain no one here knows, but you know enough about the people to know that 99 out of 100 will sign such petitions without even reading them or caring what they contain—how much reliance is to be placed on such petitions? The attempt to obtain an office by virtue of petitions thus circulated is as ridiculous as it is undignified, and the Cabinet will know how to appreciate them. I have circulated petitions only among professional men and leading and intelligent whigs who are presumed to know something about the nature of the office and the qualifications requisite to fill it.

The fact is that Lincoln in concert with Baker has arranged that the plan of operations to get the office was secretly to circulate petitions in various parts of the State at the same time, so that I should have no knowledge or notice of their operations or of what facts or representations were contained in their petitions—to gather their petitions in and Lincoln to start off to Washington with them on the very eve of the appointment and obtain the appointment by a *coup de main*, before I should have any opportunity to expose the misrepresentations contained in his petitions; this is their plan of operations, and I expect Mr. Lincoln will gather in his petitions and be off to Washington with

the precious cargo in a day of two; you will be there and will know what explanations to give to such petitions and to such a course of stratagems and deceptions. I trust the Cabinet will not be misled by any such a *russe*.

The correspondent of Lincoln and his friends here is a clerk in the Land Office by the name of *Lucas* from Jacksonville a *pseudo* whig, recently employed by Young; every mail is filled with the most beseeching letters of his to Lincoln and his supposed friends here, begging him to come on, telling him what papers and petitions to get up to hand Mr. Ewing, complaining about the interference of Mr. Smith in the appointment; and making all manner of suggestions—it is understood if Lincoln is appointed no removals are to be made—how many more of such meddling and impertinent clerks Young has got in his office I don't know, but I presume a number;—who are engaged in drumming up friends for Lincoln in this State.

Lincoln says nothing to me, he told Mr. Meeker who is here with me from Chicago, yesterday that he was not a candidate for the office yet, but did not know but he might be; this was told in order to deceive me while he was circulating his petitions, so that he might play off his favorite *russe* on me and the Cabinet.

I have the support of Indiana and Wisconsin and shall have that of Michigan in a few days. This long letter is for you and my friend Mr. Ward, so that you may know what kind of an opponent I have to deal with and how to act.

Yours truly,

J. Butterfield.

From Butterfield to Lincoln

Springfield, June 9, 1849.

Dear Sir:

Situated as we are it is unpleasant to my feelings, and I presume equally so to yours to go to Washington upon such a mission as we are embarked in. I would wish to avoid the imputation which such a proceeding may subject us to among friends and enemies—I therefore propose for your consideration whether it would not be better for us

both to remain at home; which I am willing to do, if you are—please send me an answer by the bearer.

Respectfully,

Your ob't s'v't

J. Butterfield.

Hon. A. Lincoln, Springfield.

From Davis to Butterfield

I delivered your letter of which the foregoing is a copy to Mr. Lincoln this evening—Mr. Lincoln had gone to bed and could not conveniently get a light, and requested me to state this to you as his excuse for not sending you a written answer. He authorized me to say to you, that if he were at liberty to consult his own feelings, he would cheerfully accede to your proposition, and remain at home, but he had so far committed himself to his friends that he could not now accede to it.

Levi Davis.

Springfield, June 9th.

From Edwards to Butterfield

Woodlawn, June 11th, 1849.

Justin Butterfield, Esq.,

Dear Sir:

As it forms no part of my character to sail under false colors, you shall have a full statement of the progress of my application for the office of Commissioner in answer to your enquiry whether I have declined in favor of Mr. Lincoln—and you have the further authority to proclaim the statement to all your friends as well as to Mr. Lincoln and his friends.

On the 15th of February last, I received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, acknowledging the receipt, on the evening before, of my letter soliciting his aid in procuring me the appointment in question, and informing me of what he would do and what he thought I ought to do in order to insure my success—adding that when he saw further into the matter, he would write to me again.

On the 27th of March, on his way home, he addressed me a note from Alton apologizing for not calling on me, and

stating that he had made no recommendation for the office for the reason that *he* was for me and *Baker* was for Morrison—that if he recommended me, B would recommend Don, and, being divided *probably some one from another State would get the office* that they agreed to let me and Don know the facts, and agree, if we could, which should decline, and then they would jointly recommend the other. And he added, “*Don’t surrender too easily,*” and notified me that my papers were left with Gen. Green to be used as he or I might direct.

It was subsequently ascertained to the satisfaction of my friends that Morrison would not decline and on the 15th April I *furnished Mr. Lincoln the evidence of it*, and notified him that I had written to Gen. Green to lay in my application with all the papers in his possession. In his reply to this letter, dated April 19th, he says “*what I can do for you, I shall do, but I can do nothing till all negotiation between you and Don is at an end, because of my pledge to Baker. Still they know at the Department I am for you.*” How known is explained as follows: “After I got home, some persons residing at Jacksonville and here, again demanded of me to become a candidate for the office, *as the only means of saving it to the State.* I wrote them a letter saying *if it could be saved to the State* by my consenting to take it, and in no other way, I would consent; but that I was for you, and that if it was offered to me, I should decline it in your favor, and would only accept it on their refusal to give it to you. *This letter they have sent to the Department, and I suppose it is the strongest recommendation I could possibly give you, so far as producing effect is concerned.*”

In answer to this letter I wrote to Mr. Lincoln that I saw very clearly from the tenor of his letter that he was greatly perplexed about the appointment, that as I was, at all times, unwilling to burden my friends on my account, and never disposed to pursue the dog in the manger policy, I hoped he would feel himself entirely untrammelled and take such course as he might think best—and that I should be gratified at his success over Baker’s nominee whoever he might be, if I could not obtain the appointment for myself.

To this he replied under date of the 30th of April, that my position as a candidate *did not at all add to his per-*

plexity—that indeed, he preferred that I should not withdraw *even if it were a matter of indifference to myself*.

The next letter received was from our mutual friend Dr. Henry urging me to write to Gen. Taylor in behalf of Mr. Lincoln. This, I felt obliged to decline, as it was not necessary *in order to save it to the State*—yourself being a citizen of the State as well as Mr. Lincoln, and because I retained a little too much self-respect to be used as a cats-paw to promote the success of one on whom I relied to procure the appointment for myself.

I have thus sir, given you substantially so much of the correspondence with Mr. Lincoln as can have any bearing upon the question whether I have declined in his favor and whether, if I be really *hors du combat*, it has been brought about by my act or the acts of kind friends—I have not considered my application withdrawn—nor would I, under the circumstances, raise a finger to ensure it.

With great respect,

your obt servt

Cyrus Edwards.

Lincoln thereupon returned to Washington post-haste armed with a half-bushel of letters of recommendation. These have been removed from the Department but the correspondence shows that he had already become a very popular and prominent leader among the Whigs. He found that the Cabinet had postponed decision of the matter to give him a chance to present his cause and taking a room with a man by the name of Coffey, from my old home-town of Lancaster, Ohio, he worked over the affair with great eagerness. The place not only paid \$3,000 a year, but it was important politically.

Some of Lincoln's friends started a report that two years before Butterfield had suffered an attack of apoplexy. In the Department files are letters from Butterfield, two doctors, a druggist, and the Mayor of Chicago on this subject. The one from Butterfield himself, follows.

From Butterfield to Ewing

Chicago, April 6th, 1849.

Hon. T. Ewing,
Secretary of the Treasury [Interior].

Sir: I was much surprised when at Washington to hear that some malicious person had secretly intimated to some member of the Cabinet that I had had the apoplexy and my health and mind was impaired, and it was said that one Dr. Duck was the author of this report; I was determined on my return home to expose this calumny; the simple facts are that in 1847, I had a rheumatic attack originating from a sudden cold and I called upon Dr. Duck and he improperly bled me most profusely—I then called in Dr. Brainard our most eminent physician, he condemned the practice of Duck and I dismissed him, and Dr. B cured me.

Upon my return home I called upon Dr. Duck and he gave me the inclosed letter stating that it is false that he ever said I had an apoplectic attack—but he wanted to excuse his practice for bleeding me, and says that he did it because I had a determination of the blood to the head. The annexed certificates of Doctors Brainard and Herrick our two most eminent surgeons and physicians flatly contradict this subterfuge of Dr. Duck and say that I never even had any determination of the blood to the head, that my indisposition was simply rheumatic; from which I entirely recovered and my mind and body is in full vigor and strength; I trust these documents will be entirely satisfactory on that point.

In consequence of a severe cold, I did not feel able to attend court last winter at Springfield a distance of 250 miles over the most horrible roads at the most inclement season of the year, the travelling being so bad that not a single lawyer from Chicago would or did [undergo] the hardship and exposure of attending said court; I understand that this was also made a charge against me—such a ridiculous charge requires no comment.

As an evidence of my standing and reputation in this City, I have the honor to inclose you the Petition of *all the members of the Chicago bar*, without distinction of party stating my qualifications and ability and recommending my

THOMAS EWING

appointment as Solicitor of the Treasury or Commissioner of the General Land Office. -I request that you will have the kindness to lay these papers together with the other papers on file in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, and some other papers in your office on the same subject before the Cabinet.

I am with great respect

Your obt svt

Justin Butterfield.

Butterfield had some fine letters of recommendation. I present one from Mr. Justice McLean of the Supreme Court of the United States, one from E. B. Washburne, one from George W. Meeker and one from James L. D. Morrison, familiarly known as "Don" who was on the fence. From these the progress of the fight as it warmed up will be somewhat apparent.

From McLean to Ewing

Washington, 7 March 1849.

Dear Sir:

The name of J. Butterfield Esquire, of Chicago, Illinois, will, I understand, be brought forward for some appointment connected with the Treasury Department. I have known Mr. Butterfield for about seven years. For some years he was District Attorney of the United States, for the District of Illinois; and he discharged the duties of that office most faithfully and ably. He is a gentleman of high character, studious and systematic in his habits of business, and I doubt not he will fill with credit to himself and advantage to the public, any office to which he shall be appointed. As a lawyer Mr. Butterfield stands very high and, I take pleasure in saying that he is worthy of the confidence of the administration and of the public.

Very respectfully

Your obt sert

John McLean

Hon. T. Ewing.

From Washburne to Ewing

Galena, Illinois,
May 28, 1849.

Hon. Thomas Ewing.

Dear Sir:

I beg leave to congratulate you upon your successful appointments in this State. The promptness and efficiency with which you have acted gives great satisfaction to the whig party and great popularity to the "Department of the Interior." It is rumored that Mr. Butterfield has been appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office. It were not possible to have a better appointment. It will be most cordially approved by the whigs of Illinois and will command the entire respect of the opposite party. Having known Mr. B. long and intimately, as a man, a lawyer and a politician, I speak what I know when I say that he will make by far the best Commissioner we have ever had and will reflect great credit upon the administration.

It is understood here that Hon. E. D. Baker, who has been elected to Congress from this District, but who is hardly acknowledged as being a resident of the district, will try and make some difficulty in regard to the appointment of Mr. Noble as Register of Dixon Land Office and perhaps in regard to Col. Aldrich as Receiver. People here who know him do not conceive it possible that *he* can effect anything. In making the appointments you have gratified the wishes of the whigs of the district, and put in office two of the best men in this section of our country. Mr. Noble is a man without reproach. A leading whig Senator in our Legislature, a Taylor elector, he has the entire confidence of the party. Because he disapproved of Baker's stealing into this district for a Congressional nomination and considered his pretensions to a cabinet appointment as absurd (as everybody else did) Baker is now determined to crush him.

The enclosed extract from the leading whig paper in this district expresses public sentiment in regard to the appointments.

I am, Very Respectfully,
 yr. obt. svt.

E. B. Washburne.

THOMAS EWING

From Meeker to Ewing

Springfield, Illinois,
June 9th, 1849.

Hon. Thomas Ewing.

Sir:

I have been in Springfield a week in attendance upon the United States Circuit Court, and have had an opportunity of ascertaining the feelings of the whigs in this section, in relation to the appointment of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. From what I can learn among the citizens here, (whom I have known well for many years) I am clearly of the opinion that the appointment of Mr. Butterfield would give as general, if not greater satisfaction to the whigs of this section as that of Mr. Lincoln. I have come to this opinion from conversations with many of the leading whigs here, who entirely concur with me. In the Northern part of the State, where I reside, all the whigs as far as I can learn are in favor of Mr. Butterfield, and they say (with great justice too) that the appointment belongs to the North; the two previous appointees (Judge Young and Gen. Shields) having been residents of this section of the State. They also say that, the United States Attorney, Marshall and District Judge being residents of the Southern part of the State, the North has been overlooked and slighted. In addition therefore to the warm personal and political friendship which urges Mr. Butterfield's appointment, this sectional feeling, so well founded, should we think be considered by your Department. I was at Milwaukee about three weeks since, and the whigs there were particularly anxious for the appointment of Mr. Butterfield, who has always been considered since I have been in the State (ten years) one of the strongest bulwarks of our party.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your obt svt

George W. Meeker.

From Morrison to Butterfield

Springfield, June 9, 1849.

Justin Butterfield, Esq.,

Dear Sir:

In reply to your note of today I have to state, that the report to which you allude (if any such exists at Washington) that I had declined being considered as an applicant for the Commissionership of the General Land Office in favour of Mr. Lincoln, is wholly unfounded in fact—I am unwilling to take any part in the contest between Mr. L. and yourself, and I assure you my Dear Sir that the appointment of either of you to that office, would meet my most cordial approbation—and I think that no whig in the State who desires to preserve the integrity of our party would find fault with the administration for deciding in favour of either yourself or Mr. Lincoln, or any other good whig.

Very respectfully,

yr obt svt

Jas. L. D. Morrison.

It would not be fair to Lincoln to give one side of this correspondence; but much of what he wrote is published and all his papers have been removed from the Department files. The most important letter by Lincoln was one dated July 13, 1849, addressed to Joseph Gillespie, and found in Nicolay and Hay, in which he defends his course toward Edwards. The last communication from Mr. Butterfield on the subject that I have found is the following:

From Butterfield to Hunter

Chicago, June 4th, 1849.

Major David Hunter,

Dear Sir:

I am an applicant for the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the appointment lays between me and Mr. Lincoln late Member of Congress from Springfield in this State. The Northern part of the State is I be-

lieve unanimous for me, and it is not surprising that Mr. Lincoln in the District he represented in the Middle section of the State should have friends to support his claims; this is natural; but a little clique of his friends at Springfield I have reason to believe have attempted to mislead General Taylor by representing that he is the choice of a large majority of the whigs of this State, which is untrue, all the prominent whigs of the Northern Section of the State have petitioned for my appointment; the South and Middle Sections of the State have monopolized all the important offices, such as the United States District Judge, District Attorney and Marshall, while the Northern part of the State which contains the only whig Congressional District in the State has had nothing; now you know that there is more intelligence and enterprise, more whigs and more of the materials for making whigs in the North part of the State than there is in all the rest of the State besides—it contains as I have stated before the only whig Congressional District; and Chicago containing now (about) 20,000 inhabitants (more than twice the size of any other town in the State) gave at the Congressional election last fall a large whig majority in favor of Mr. Scammon the whig candidate over Long John,—all the members of the bar of the City of Chicago and of Galena and Juliet and Ottawa without distinction of party and all the leading whigs of those places and in other sections of the Northern part of the State have signed recommendations for my appointment, which are now on file in the office of Mr. Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, together with as many more from Wisconsin.

Illinois had seven delegates to the Philadelphia Convention which nominated Gen'l Taylor, and four of those delegates have recommended my appointment. In face of all these facts one can only wonder at the bare-faced audacity of Mr. Lincoln's friends in attempting to impose upon the President and his Cabinet the belief that my appointment would be unpopular, or that the great majority of the whigs are in his favor. The great difficulty the whigs in the Northern part of the State labor under at Washington, is, that we have no man in this newly settled part of the State sufficiently known and prominent at Washington to command the entire confidence of the Government. Col. Baker who

was elected to Congress from the whig District, is a vain supercilious Englishman—he undertook to force himself upon Gen'l Taylor as a member of his Cabinet by getting up recommendations, and caucus nominations for Secretary at War, and holding out the most corrupt and dishonorable inducements to Editors of Newspapers to give him their support; myself and many of the leading whigs here disgusted at his proceedings publicly discountenanced them, and he attributes his defeat in obtaining an office for which he has no qualifications, to myself and others, hence his deadly hostility to me in particular, and he is doing all he can to defeat me, he is of but little consequence to the party or the administration, he has no influence in this State and can never be re-elected. I have thus given you in as short a space as possible a history of how matters stand; I am strongly supported from this State, Indiana and Wisconsin, the Commissioner of the Land Office is one that belongs to the Northwestern States. If selected from this State the Northern part of the State is most justly entitled. You have known me well for many years and you are also well acquainted with Illinois. I have to request that you will do me the justice to have an interview with General Taylor and inform him precisely how matters stand, Mr. Ewing I have reason to believe is strongly in my favor. The attempts making by Lincoln and Baker is to get the President and other members of the Cabinet to over-rule him; and to do this they are making misrepresentations. Your Brother John H. has written a candid letter to the President. The Hon. Caleb B. Smith now in W. is my friend please see him—whatever you do please do quickly as the appointment will soon be made—please give my respects to Mrs. Hunter.

Truly your friend,

Justin Butterfield.

Unfortunately for Mr. Lincoln's hopes the Cabinet and General Taylor did not overrule the Secretary of the Interior, and Butterfield was duly appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office on June 21st, 1849. Lincoln was badly cut up. He came back to Coffey's room, after learning of his defeat, and threw himself down on the bed which

was all too short for him, his big feet sticking over the foot-board. He lay there in deep depression for a full hour or more when he roused himself and said: "Well, I reckon the people will find some use to put me to yet."

An article in the New York Times of March 1, 1914, in which several of the foregoing letters appeared, attracted the attention of two grand-daughters of Cyrus Edwards, the Misses Quigley, with whom I was acquainted. It is a pleasure to report on their authority that the friendship which had been warm between Mr. Edwards and Mr. Lincoln, though cooled, was not broken off by their disagreement over the commissionership. It was soon resumed and was never again disturbed or abated.

THE PRAIRIE CHICKEN

Notes on Lincoln and Mrs. Kirkland

BY THOMAS O. MABBOTT AND PHILIP D. JORDAN

The Prairie Chicken, of Tilton, Illinois, was at one time a lost paper.¹ When Scott compiled his *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*,² he found the title on a catalogue card of the Lenox Library collection, but for some reason the paper itself could not be located by him at the New York Public Library. And one judges from his note that Scott himself had some doubts as to whether the paper, to which he found no other reference, and which nobody seemed to recall, had existed, or was a ghost due to some slip of a cataloguer. However, the title appeared in the *Checklist of Newspapers and Official Gazettes in the New York Public Library*,³ so that when we examined the New York collections in preparing our *Catalogue of Illinois Newspapers in the New York Historical Society*,⁴ we found that the file had been for many years in its proper place on the shelves of the reserve division of the Public Library; but because of its size, it was kept with the magazines, and hence perhaps eluded search when Scott sought it.

The pleasure one naturally feels in settling a moot point was for us increased by finding that the paper which had commanded attention as a mystery, was of much inter-

¹Acknowledgment of assistance in preparing this article is hereby made to Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Russell of Tilton; Miss Sarah B. Seiwel, of the Danville Public Library; and Mr. Nelson Nichols of the New York Public Library.

²Illinois Historical Collections, vol. VI. Biographical Series, Vol. I, Springfield, 1910, p. 361 b.

³Compiled by Daniel C. Haskell, New York Public Library, 1915, p. 166.

⁴*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, July, 1931, p. 238.

est as a reality, and contained information for the historian and the literary student as well as for the local antiquary. Material existing in an unique file or copy of a printed work, especially if that copy be located in a more or less unexpected place, may, we think, be considered as partaking of the nature of manuscript, and we propose to reprint here the material which, if in manuscript, should be deemed worth printing.

The Prairie Chicken, a small quarto paper, four pages of three columns each to the issue, appeared for twelve months only, bearing the dates October 1, 1864 to September 1, 1865. It was one of a number of similar papers issued throughout the country at the time for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission, although unlike most of them, it was not connected with a Fair. The place of issue was Tilton, but the printing was done by D. S. Crandall, editor of the *Champaign County Union*, who contributed the paper used as his part in the charity. The proceeds went to the general fund used for the benefit of the wounded. The editor of *The Prairie Chicken*, in a note on "Our Aims," wrote, in part: "First . . . stands the desire that our new community should be represented in the periodical literature of the nation. . . . Secondly, comes the wish to place our mite in the hands of the U. S. Sanitary Commission."⁵ The subscription price was one dollar per annum by mail, and fifty cents to local subscribers.⁶ In the last number, it is stated that subscriptions amounted to \$492, so a circulation around 500 may be assumed. Subscribers were, in some cases, living in California, Massachusetts (where the *Boston Transcript* once dignified the *Chicken* by a reference), and New York, the last the home of Miss Schuyler, who kept her file and gave it to the Public Library.

⁵*Ibid*, Vol. I, No. 1, of *The Prairie Chicken*.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 4.

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The editor is not specifically named—there is even a humorous article on the many editorial departments and those who supervised them—but there is little doubt that the chief factor in issuing the sheet was Joseph Kirkland,⁷ who is named in the advertising column (a very unimportant department of the *Chicken*) as the station agent of the Great Western Railroad, and as a dealer in coal.⁸

We find that Joseph Kirkland was born January 7, 1830, the son of William Kirkland, the professor of Latin language and literature at Hamilton College until 1828, and later the founder of a seminary at Geneva, New York, and, in 1842, one of the founders of the *Christian Inquirer*, of New York City. Joseph was taken to Michigan in 1835, and remained there until 1856, when he went to Chicago and engaged in the coal business. In the year 1861, he enlisted in "C" company, 12th Illinois Infantry, where he reached the rank of captain, and was appointed aide-de-camp to General McClellan. Later he was transferred to the staff of General Fitz John Porter. He saw active service at the battle of Antietam, resigned his commission on the retirement of General Porter, and was mustered out with the rank of major. He then returned to Chicago. In the year 1863, he married Theodosia Burr Wilkinson, of Syracuse, New York. He gave his attention to caring for the coal business and the coal mining property previously acquired by his father near Danville, Illinois. The Kirklands had brought in Belgian miners, and it is noted in the *Chicken* that Belgian children had won prizes at the commencement of the Tilton school. Kirkland's later career need not concern us in great detail. He failed in the coal

⁷Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, 1900. Also, George Derby's, *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. VI, p. 481, New York, 1907.

⁸We believe that the articles on coal, running in *The Prairie Chicken*, in nos. 5, 6, and 9, indicate that Joseph Kirkland was the editor, this in addition to other internal evidence.

business after the Chicago fire, entered the Internal Revenue Service, read law and was admitted to the Bar in 1880 in Chicago. He wrote three novels: *Zuri, the Meanest Man in Spring County*, 1887; *The McVeys*, 1888; and an anonymous book, *The Captain of Company K*, the prize story of the *Detroit Free Press* in 1891. He had become literary editor of the *Chicago Tribune* in 1890, and he died April 27, 1894. He had a sister, Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland, (1828-1896) who may have been with him at Tilton.

His most celebrated literary connection, however, was his mother, Mrs. Carolina Matilda Stansbury Kirkland,⁹ a native of New York City, but famous as one of the earliest writers to deal with the settlement of the Middle West. She based many stories and essays upon her own experiences in Michigan, and published them in the magazines of the day under the pseudonym, Mrs. Mary Clavers. Collected into book form, these include *A New Home, Who'll Follow?*; *Forest Life*; and *Western Clearings*. Edgar Poe reviewed her not unkindly. In the year 1847 she edited the *Union Magazine*, and at various times compiled gift books. In her work she painted vividly and with some humor the struggles, social, religious, and economic, of the settlers in the new land cleared of Indians and rapidly changing from the frontier state into an agricultural community. Among her friends were Mrs. Sigourney, the poetess of Hartford,¹⁰ who displayed great interest in the West; and Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, the abolitionist, who was a contributor to *The Prairie Chicken*.¹¹ Mrs. Kirkland was prominent in New York Society, and was one of the originators of the New

⁹Vid, Frank Luther Mott's: *A History of American Magazines*. New York, 1930, pp. 347, 769-70 for information concerning Mrs. Kirkland's literary career.

¹⁰Vid, *American Literature* for November, 1932, for a forthcoming article on her use of a Western source.

¹¹Mrs. Child sent in three poems, unfortunately hardly her best work: *God Bless Our Soldier Boys* (Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1, November, 1864); *The Woodland Poet's Apology* (Vol. I, No. 8, p. 4, May, 1865); and *Our Legion of Honor* (Vol. I, No. 9, p. 1, June, 1865).

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York Sanitary Fair. Her enthusiasm for this project was so great that it is supposed that overwork caused her death in New York City on April 6, 1864. One can hardly doubt that her interest was what prompted the efforts in behalf of the Sanitary Commission in Tilton. And it is not surprising that her son should have had access to some of her unpublished writings, from which were selected three articles for posthumous publication in *The Prairie Chicken*.

The texts of these three articles follow. They are printed as exactly as may be from photostatic copy, the footnotes alone being our addition.

We give below the first of a series of extracts, taken from unpublished MSS. by the late Mrs. Kirkland. The present one is apparently a fragment, intended as the commencement of a longer article.¹²

I.

TOWN OR COUNTRY?

"Country! of course!" cries the young enthusiast, at the first sound of such a question.

"Town! to be sure!" rather gruffly responds the staid man of business, fancying to himself the *ennui* which would seize him if he lacked the excitement of the great social arena, and perhaps recollecting that which he experienced while spending three days at a fashionable watering place.

But the question is not answered so easily, either way. A good many thoughts must go to its settlement. It will not do to fancy the country all breezy hills, shady groves and trim gardens, or the town nothing but brick and mortar, bulls and bears. Human nature is a thing very difficult to deal with, and in attempting to compare the advantages of town and country for the use of human nature, we shall find it hard to hold the subject still and keep it cool enough to talk wisely upon.

¹²*The Prairie Chicken*, June 1, 1865, No. 9, p. 4.

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OL. I. (AND ONLY.)

TILTON, ILL., OCTOBER 1, 1864.

No. 1.

THE VISIT.

A visit!
What is it?
Imagine a time
When all "the memories" glow in their prime—
Warm hospitality,
Without prodigality—
(The former 's a virtue, the latter a crime);
Unfiling attention bestowed on the guest,—
A part being seen, and imagined the rest,
For much of the kindest regard and respect
May be shown by a little judicious neglect;
It helps you to keep from a friend the sensation
Of having incurred any great obligation;
In this case, as others, a good rule to run by
Is the one that says, "Do as you'd like to be done by."
Here are some of the things—not to be too explicit—
That make up my best facet of a visit.

THE TIME.

The whole year is good, but I think the best of it is
About at the season of Christmas festivities.
The length of the stay must depend on good taste;
Do not make it too long, nor depart in great haste;
The farewell should come as the first check to merriment.
While still in full tide of successful excitement,—
You'll be well contented, unless you're a dunce,
To give your friends cause for rejoicing but once.
Your visiting a pleasure to all should impart,
But to make them glad twice.

Is not nearly so wise,
Cling to see you, and glad to get 'em you depart!
But a visit from those who do not intend to visit back.

MORAL PERSPECTIVE—No. 1.

The art of estimating correctly the relative magnitude (importance) of things variously placed as to distance from the "mind's eye."

Who is he that hath this Art?

He who carefully keeps his eyes in front of him, for he who stands before his own eyes hides from them all things else, (though greater than himself as a mountain to a molehill), or at best lets but a dim and distorted picture reach their retina.

He who sees himself as others see him, and yet sees not others as they see them selves.

He who values money as a means, not as an end.

He who, when he differs from another, places himself (at least temporarily) at the point of view occupied by that other, before cursing him for a fool or a knave. Said a great lawyer to me once, regarding a case which he was to decide as Referee, "I would not decide a case of this magnitude and deluge without first writing *two opinions* on

a view through the Moral Perspective Glass. I give him! He, years ago, failed, owing one or two millions. His creditors have never received their dues—some of them not a penny. They still frequently "trouble" him with demands. They advertise his old notes as being for sale, (at remarkably low rates), in the city where he now wants to be respected as a rich and powerful man. Some of the demands he is now "troubled" with are from persons in real distress, who hope relief out of his present abundance.

"You gave up to your creditors all your means, did you not?"

"Well—yes—I parted with all my property. I hold no property now, you know, in my own name."

"What! your handsome house, your carriage and horses, your lands and mines, your stocks, bonds, money and bills receivable?"

"Oh, yes. We arrange that very well.—No man can touch a penny of the \$1,000 a day I am now making. My creditors, as you call them, have no shadow of lawful claim on a penny of it."

One thing we may set down as certain—that nobody can profitably and pleasantly keep up two homes. It is all very well for gentlemen to have country seats as well as town houses; but gentlemen's wives, let their fortunes be what they may, will, in our United States at least, tell you that the amount of care and anxiety which devolves upon *them* in the semi-annual removal, and the thousand daily and weekly cares attendant upon the possession of two houses (so called,) make up a burthen that quite spoils the pleasure of this "seeming good."¹³ In Europe with steward and housekeeper, and from ten to fifty well-trained servants for each temporary dwelling, the thing may go on very smoothly, though even then you will hear a good many complaints. Here it is different. The mistress of the two establishments in this country being, as Willis has keenly observed, "in too many cases only an upper servant,"¹⁴ is most severely taxed by each of the necessary changes and home is no home if it be disturbed by incessant cares and labor. So we must not go to the very rich to ask which is the pleasanter, town or country.

Any *true* home is so good that a city home can have few things said against it, and the city offers so many social advantages that one must be stupid indeed to undervalue a residence in it. If the country gives us Nature, the city gives Art; if the country abounds in liberty, the city abounds equally in resources. If in the country we have leisure, in the city we find society at will. Country lanes are pleasant in good weather; city pavements are very convenient in bad. Green trees wave in the breeze to gladden our ruralized eyes; white sails gleam on the blue waters that surround us in town—*our* town of New York. . . .

The insertion of the following paragraphs, written by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland for the *Spirit of the Fair*—(the news-

¹³This quotation is a little puzzling, but since we find Mrs. Kirkland used quotations rather loosely, it seems to us that she had in mind an inversion of the celebrated line in James Thomson's *Hymn* 114, "From seeming evil still educing good."

¹⁴The exact quotation has not been located in the voluminous works of N. P. Willis.

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paper organ of the great Metropolitan Fair of 1864,) but not published in that paper, is suggested by the North Western Sanitary Fair, with which Chicago has just closed the long series of these works of mercy which she herself was the first to inaugurate.¹⁵

CONCERTS.

One of the most agreeable and most effective modes of aiding our Sanitary Fair, and one self-suggested at the very outset, was the institution of concerts—a consent and contribution of all accessible instruments of harmony, human and mechanical, in one grand and beneficent result.

The music produced was perhaps of various merit, but it had always some good in it, generally a great deal, as everything has which engages and employs the united forces of taste and talent under the impulse of good feeling. Discords there are and must be, but by what lovely modulations do they bring in harmony, become doubly precious during the moment of suspense!

These concerts for the Fair are both symbols and foretastes of the Fair itself—the Great Concert of hearts, hands, voices, hopes. Never was there a Harmonicum of such wondrous power as this concerted performance for the benefit of our wounded soldiers. No other aim or object could so unite our busy multitudes; none other could so bring into the music of the spheres a world of incongruous and warring elements. And if you examine with the care they deserve the various portions of the performance in which these preliminary concerts have resulted, you will find it one grand hymn of love and kindness which will be heard and felt thrillingly at the farthest limit of our land; in tent and hospital—in night watch and its dire neighbor, the fever cot—in the moment of advance, the hour of victory, the very death-pang which ends earthly hope, and yet is conscious of earthly care and affection. By what wonderful transformation do these material, common-place, every-day objects which fill our aisles and alcoves turn into succor for the wounded, strength for the feeble, life and hope for the stricken, comfort for the last hour of our brave martyred

¹⁵*The Prairie Chicken*, July 1, 1865, No. 10, p. 3.

boys. How can pincushions become pillows, dolls turn to fair and devoted nurses, expensive garments into lint and bandages, splendid shawls into blankets, flowers to flannels, the richest products of Birmingham and Sheffield into surgical instruments, elegant French *lingerie* into shirts and double wrappers, magnificent carriages and horses into stretchers and ambulances—in short, for it were vain to attempt enumeration, how can all this luxury be converted into homely comfort and invaluable helps, and kept in readiness for every need that soldier flesh is heir to? It is by the mighty alchemy of Love; and this is what has made all labor light and brought order out of chaos, union out of incongruous and grating elements, and a lovely choral strain out of instruments which no power less gracious could have charmed into music.

ESSAY ON WORKS OF FICTION &c.,¹⁶

Written as a preface to an unpublished Novel.

BY THE LATE MRS. KIRKLAND

"None grow old but those who were never any thing but young"¹⁷—said the sententious Rachael Levin; and she said few better things. Yet if that "freshness of the heart"¹⁸ which falls "like dew," be the essence of youth, society takes care that we shall learn to substitute something for it which she teaches us to call wisdom,—but which we feel to be sorrow.

"Give me back, give me back the wild freshness of morning,"¹⁹ is the cry of nature; we must attain to something of divine before we can prefer the sobered smiles of evening.

¹⁶*Ibid*, August 1, 1865, No. 11, p. 4.

¹⁷This lady, Mr. H. Askew points out in *Notes & Queries*, clxiii, 179, is the celebrated "Rahel," friend of Goethe, and wife of the German biographer Karl August Varnhagen von Ense. After her death her husband published a volume of her letters and notes, in 1833. The exact quotation has not been traced; a great deal has been written about Rahel; Carlyle admired her work.

¹⁸Byron. *Don Juan*. I, CCXIV, 2.

¹⁹Thomas Moore. *Irish Melodies*, "I saw from the beach" line 11.

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Life's teachings have a deep meaning and an eternal value; but the learners in her school shed many tears the traces of which are ineffaceable—traces which change, if they do not deform.

It is perhaps from a sense of the value of these teachings, and from a desire to obtain them at smaller cost, that the world has always loved the contemplation of imaginary life. There is something akin to experience, yet devoid of the suffering which is inseparable from experience, in following the fortunes of a human creature like ourselves, endowed with like affections, subject to the same snares, longing after the same happiness. We rejoice in his success, we sympathize with his disappointments, we admire his virtue, and, sometimes, perhaps, profit by his errors. We live his life, for the time, and we transfer the conclusions drawn from this imaginary experience to the conduct of real life.

If this be indeed one of the sources whence springs our delight in fiction, the writers of fiction assume a heavy responsibility. They are teachers of morals; and as those who insinuate falsehood are more dangerous than those who proclaim it boldly, so must these teachers, if unfaithful, be more pernicious than the setters forth of unveiled evil. False maxims of life lead thousands to ruin; and some of our graver moralists ascribe many of these wrecks to the prevalence of fictitious writing. Such considerations make the construction of a novel seem a bold attempt. We shall confine ourselves as much as possible to real life, trusting that an adherence to nature will secure both variety and utility.

Society everywhere is one in its principal features. The witty lady M. W. Montague²⁰ said that in all her travels she had met with only two kinds of people—men and women. Yet society in America has in this its transition state peculiar features, and, it seems to us, sometimes presents peculiar difficulties. The one point of a constantly increasing disposition to luxury and indulgence, conflicting with an incessant and inevitable subdivision of property, creates contradictions between habits and income, and a

²⁰Lady Mary Wortley Montague really said, much more spitefully: "This world consists of men, women, and Herveys." *Vid*, Bartlett: *Familiar Quotations*, 9th ed., p. 461 for a reference to *Montague Letters*, I, p. 64.

feverish anxiety for wealth, which are at once the reproach and the misery of our country. Young men who have been educated to enjoy and to require all the appliances of wealth are sent forth into the world to get their living, just as well prepared for the struggle and the sacrifices implied in that expression as the bird who should be pushed, unfledged, from the nest, is for a sustained flight. The father complacently boasts his intention to keep the loaf under his own arm, and leave his boys to fight their way as he did; forgetting entirely that the very habits which his wealth has entailed upon them unfit them for any life less luxurious than his own. A daughter, endowed with tastes and accomplishments fit for a princess, must either sell herself for an establishment, or marry somebody as ill-fitted as herself to bear the hardships of life. And when a couple thus united have consumed all the best part of life in agonizing sacrifice and effort, the parental fortune is divided, and whether each share be large or small, it serves again to unfit the second generation for the toils that must be theirs on entering into life. We have got to learn the difficult lesson that simple and frugal habits are alone suited to our republican maxims of government. Whether we shall be convinced of this in time, or whether the contradiction between luxury and democracy is yet to be our ruin, remains to be seen. But while we are making the experiment the social condition of our people presents some points worthy of notice. We know not that we shall catch these points, but such is the aim of our simple history.

The following reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, although unsigned, may be assigned with little hesitation to the pen of Joseph Kirkland, whose participation in the battle of Antietam is a convincing argument, though by no means the only one for the author's identity. So far as we can learn, these incidents have not been touched on *from this source* by Nicolay & Hay, Tarbell, Sandburg, or Beveridge, nor is there any reference in their indices to the Kirklands, or Lord Grosvenor. This young nobleman was Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, second son and heir to the Marquis of

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Westminster. He was born in 1825, and succeeded his father as Marquis in 1869, to be made Duke of Westminster in 1874.²¹ Some of this material is then apparently quite new, and the description of the visit of the nominating committee to Lincoln is enlivened by a colorful touch or two which must be welcomed by biographers.

MR. LINCOLN.²²

Some six or seven years ago—It seems like twenty years, because the war has intervened—a young English Lord (Grosvenor) staid a few days with us at our prairie home, and as Mr. Lincoln happened to be at Danville then, we asked him over to spend an evening. Nothing could be more striking than the points of contrast and of similarity between the two. The young Lord, (whose father is said to be the richest man in England,) had had added to his good natural gifts, every advantage that money could buy at home or abroad, including as a final grace, and preparation for his parliamentary career, this visit to America. Mr. Lincoln had added to his congenital powers absolutely nothing but what he could acquire unaided. His ten talents had gained unto themselves other ten talents. Starting from these antipodal parts of the social world, the men had arrived at one point of similarity, namely, the most perfect simplicity of manners. The highest art, and the merest nature, had this common ground where they met and fraternized, namely, unaffected modesty of speech and behavior.

It was long ago, and we none of us thought of a single one of the huge events which have occurred since, conspiring to surround Mr. Lincoln with the halo through which we now look at him as the Patriot martyr. If we could have dreamed of even the least of them, we should have remembered every word and look that passed during that pleasant evening. But as it is, only a vague recollection of an effort on the part of us American youngsters to get Mr. Lincoln into his humorous vein, to give Grosvenor an amusing souve-

²¹*Vid*, Burke's, *Peerage*, s. v. Westminster. The family was extremely wealthy.

²²*The Prairie Chicken*, July, 1865, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 4.

nir of frontier fun. But Mr. Lincoln, though he talked much, did not tell a single story that we can recall; he confined himself, probably, rather to the things the traveler *ought* to learn, concerning the country and its constitution, than what he or his hosts might crave for an evening's amusement. It would be curious to know what the young nobleman, in his subsequent career, thought of the plain, gigantic, prairie lawyer to whom he listened so attentively that evening—or if he ever knows that that was the man who has since filled so great a place in the regard of his country as well as ours.

The next time the writer saw Mr. Lincoln was when the Committee of the Chicago Convention waited on him at Springfield, to announce his nomination. The modest and pleasant house in Springfield, (since pleasantly associated in our minds, being hired from Mr. Lincoln by good friends of ours,) was carefully prepared for the distinguished occasion, and among the most noticeable features, was the appearance of the two little sons, (carefully imbued by parental hands with the whitest of pantaloons,) who gleefully participated in the unwonted excitement.

Then the scene (in memory) changes to Washington, where the writer being on duty with the army of the Potomac, frequently saw the President, his Commander in Chief. On one occasion Mr. Lincoln attended a parlor representation of the wonderful powers of Hermann, the "Prestidigitator," and was one of the most puzzled, amused and interested of the little party. Not the youngest among us enjoyed the relaxation more than did the President.

The mind's eye next recalls him at certain reviews, sitting on his horse, (and sitting him well, too, to the surprise of some of us,) trying hard to smile on each one of the thousands and tens of thousands of new soldiers that marched past him, with fresh uniforms, full ranks and bright banners;—then at certain other reviews, after our Peninsular campaign, when the same ranks marched past him, but how changed! Battle stained, depleted and carrying shreds on their flagstuffs in place of flags. His kind eyes must have filled with tears at the sight.

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When we were in Washington after Antietam, the writer was paying a visit to the President's private secretaries one day, in the office at the South East corner of the White House, upstairs. We were indulging our own merry thoughts, when the President's door opened and his grave and gentle face peered in with the words;

"I thought you were laughing pretty loud in here, and that I should like to come in and laugh too!"

So the good things had all to be said over again, while the great man joined in the merriment. It is to be feared, though, that they were not very funny, or that they lost in the repetition—or perhaps it was only that the load was too heavy to be lightly thrown off. At any rate we were soon talking of graver things. Two pamphlets²³ were just then occupying a good deal of Mr. Lincoln's attention, "How a free people conduct a long war," by Mr. Stille, and Mr. Charles P. Kirkland's pamphlet²⁴ on the war power of the President, to the latter of which, especially, Mr. Lincoln accorded great weight. About these, and about Napier's *Peninsular War*,²⁵ (on which the first named pamphlet was based,) the conversation went on for awhile.

This was the last time the writer saw Mr. Lincoln; and now, of course, the failing comes strongly to mind (does it not to all of us?) "Why could we not have done more to please him, to show our affectionate sympathy with him, before the opportunity passed away, as it now has done, alas! forever?"

²³Charles Janeway Stillé published the pamphlet named at Philadelphia, 1863. It was several times reprinted, on two occasions for the U. S. Sanitary Commission. He also wrote a *Memorial of the Great Central Fair at Philadelphia*, 1864, and a *History of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Philadelphia, 1866.

²⁴Charles Pinkney Kirkland (1830-1904) wrote, *A Letter to the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis . . . in review of his recently published pamphlet on the "Emancipation Proclamation."* New York, 1863, often reprinted, on the subject of the executive power.

²⁵Sir William Francis Patrick Napier (1785-1860) brought out his celebrated *History of the Peninsular War* in 6 vols., 1828-1840.

FROM CENTRAL ILLINOIS TO THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN 1843

The Journal of John Edward Young

EDITED BY MRS. FREDERICK L. HAMIL

In 1843 John Edward Young, age 19, travelled by horseback from his home at Indian Point, near Athens, Illinois, to the home of his father's father, Robert Young of Bourbon County, Kentucky, and thence to the older homestead of his mother's father, John Young, a Captain of Virginia troops in the Revolution. This plantation, lying about eight miles west of Staunton, Virginia, was deeded by William Beverley to Hugh Young, father of John, in 1747. It remained in the family for many years, and prompted the long journey of this lad to the home of his mother's people.

Margaret Young, daughter of John above, married her third cousin, William Preston Young. The young people settled first in Kentucky but came to Illinois in 1835 and settled in the Indian Point neighborhood, not far from Petersburg. John Edward, their oldest son, (born 1824, died 1904), was the historian of the family, accurate and painstaking, except that this his first effort of journal-keeping shows the almost universal tendency of the time to disregard the rules for spelling. Haste and the conditions under which he made his entries may account for a part and the pioneer scarcity of books accounts for still more.

His taste ran to writing, and in his younger days, to 'debating' in the characteristic debating societies of the time. Indian Point Academy, or more properly, North Sangamon Academy, built just across the road from North Sangamon Church, gave the young people of the community a cultural

background. Here John Edward Young took his part in community enterprises. He kept an uninterrupted diary from January 1st, 1859, to the morning of his last illness, January 31st, 1904, recording weather and crop conditions, prices, and the work accomplished for the day.

In this, his first long trip away from home, he was recording the vivid impressions such a journey would make on his unformed and eager mind. His "meditations" on slavery, particularly, were not unlike those of Lincoln himself, and well illustrate the mind of the Middle West.

Principal stops *enroute* were both Decatur and Paris, Illinois; Terre Haute, Putnamville, Carthage, Belleville, Plainfield, Indianapolis, Shelbyville, Lawrenceville, Greensburg and Manchester, Indiana; Burlington, Williamstown, Paris, Sharpsburg, Moorefield, Elisaville, Washington and Ripley, Kentucky; Russellville, Carlisle, Fincastle, Ohio.

In West Virginia he followed the postroad along the Kanawha river and through the Alleghanies, to the Lewisburg and Staunton Turnpike. He stopped *enroute* at the homes of various relatives in Bourbon and Bath Counties in Kentucky and at several uncles' and aunts' in the neighborhood of Staunton, Virginia, along the Cowpasture river and upper Shenandoah Valley.

Returning, he followed the Kanawha river to the Ohio and turned north toward Chillicothe and Highland County. In Ohio he followed a little way along the National Trail, and visited again at Robert S. Young's, a brother of his father. He took passage on *The Messenger* at Cincinnati for St. Louis, leaving Cincinnati December the 23rd and reaching St. Louis the 29th. From St. Louis he took passage on the *Osprey* for Alton and left Alton on horseback on the 30th for his home in Menard County, which he reached January 5th, 1844.

SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN 1843

JOURNAL

September the 14th, 1843

Left home. Weather fare. Passed through Fancy Creek Timber, Woolf creek and lodged at Burneses in Buffalo Grove. Timber rather indifferent. Prararies undulating and dry. Corn tollerable good. Wheat a failure.

15th

Passed through Buffalo Grove, Long point and camped one mile west of Decatur. Timber pretty good, prararies flat and wet. Weather Cloudy. Roads some what slippery owing to rain the night previous.

16th

Came through Decatur which is the County Seat of Macon County, situated about two miles north of the Sangamon River, through the Sangamon timber and Black Bird to Snyder's. Timber excellent. Prararies Flat. Corn indifferent. Weather clear and Cool.

17th

Weather fare and cool. Came from Snyder's through the fourteen mile prararie, the Okaw timber and the sixteen mile prararie to the great Ambraw. Timber scarce but of good quality. Prararies large and flat and wet in the interior. Corn inferior.

18th

Weather somewhat clowdy with strong appearances of rain at the west. Came through Ambraw Timber, the grand Prararie, through Paris, and entered the Wabash timber and camped about three miles from the State line. Timber very fine consisting of Oak of various species, walnut, hickory, sugartree, sickamore, Linden & Poplar Beach or Boc a timber of peculiar qualities and of great celebrity among the Saxons. This tree is said to be a non conductor

of electricity. The Saxons used its bark as a substitute for paper and from Boc the Saxon name for it came the English word Book. Prararies flat and wet. Corn indifferent, winter wheat scarce.

Paris

This is the county seat of Edgar County situated in the western edge of the Wabash timber on the Road leading from Springfield to Tery Haut, 103 Miles from the former and 19 from the latter. It is a place of considerable business. There is a large and handsome court House erected here on a large and beautifull squear very tastfully ornamented with Locust shades that gives it a rural and picturesque appearance. There is a number of handsome buildings here both publick and private. The population I should suppose to be about 1,000.

19th

Came through the Wabash Timber, crossed the Wabash passed through Tery Haut where we entered the National Road, on to Falkners 16 miles east of Tery Haut. Timber very excelent. No Prararies. Corn pretty good, oats tolerable, other grain light and indifferent. Weather Fare and very hot traveling. Oppressive.

Wabash River

This river rises in the North part of Indiana and runs south west to the western boundry of the state. Below Tery Haut it formes the boundry line between the States of Indiana and Illinois. It is navigable for the smaller class of Boats to Tery Haut.

Tery Haut

The County seat of Vigo County is situated on the east bank of the Wabash at the point where the National Road crosses the River. It is a place of very considerable business. Main street exhibits a bustle and business apearance

SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN 1843

common only to places of wealth, industry and enterprise. There is a large brick court House here, three or four handsome churches and a number of Hotels, one in particular I cannot pass without a more particular notice. It consists of a front 60 feet south by 40 deep three storyes high with basements with an el running north 60 feet by about 30 deep, two stories high, forming a front west of 100 feet and an el running east from this 30 feet squire two stories high forming a front North of 60 feet, leaving a space of 30 feet squire between the South and north front open which is partly filled by a two story porch, beautifully banistered and painted. The windows are hung with venetian blinds.

The population cannot be far short of two thousand five hundred.

20th

Pass through Putnamville in Putnam county, a town containing from five to eight hundred inhabitants, and Carthage a small village in the same county. Land all timber with a light thin clay soil. Timber indifferent being mostly Beach, sugartree, and Hickory. Corn very scarce and indifferent. Hay excellent other crops short. Weather very hot traveling. Oppressive.

21st

Passed through Bellville, and Plainefield vilages each containing about 250 inhabitants, and camped 2 miles west of Indianapolis. Soil a little improved. Timber tolerable good. Corn indiferent, wheat tollerable good. Hay excelent. Peaches and apples abundant. Weather Fair and very warm. Traveling disagreeable.

22nd

Crossed White water, a stream some 200 feet wide. Passed through Indianapolis and severel vilages about the size of Athens, and camped $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of Shelbyville. Timber very heavy but indifferent owing to the greater part

FROM CENTRAL ILLINOIS TO THE

of it being beach and sugartree. Land of a clay and light quality. Corn very inferior, wheat quite scarce. Hay fine, fruit abundant. Weather fare and warm

23rd

Passed through Shelbyville the County Town of Shelby County, St Omer and Greensburg the County Town of Decatur and camped 34 miles North West of Lawrenceburg. Timber indifferent. Corn light, wheat scarce. Oats inferior. Hay fine. Fruit very abundant. Weather fare. Traveling good.

24th

Passed through Napoleon and Manchester, villages containing each about 250 inhabitants. Soil light. Timber thin and inferior. Corn scarce. No Wheat raised the present season. Hay very fine, this being the principal article of transportation from this section of country. The Farmers devote the principal part of their time to its cultivation. They have erected large and spacious Barnes to house it, to which is attached a screw to press and bail it, so as to prepare it for transportation. This section of country is by far the best improved part of the State that I have seen. The farmers are mostly Wealthy and generally live in a fashionable and elegant style. The Bluffs of the Ohio where we descended them is about two hundred feet high and covered with a thick growth of small timber.

Lawrenceburg the county seat of Dearborn County, is situated on the Ohio 27 miles below Cincinnati and but a short distance below the mouth of the Miami. There is a court house and Jail erected here, several churches a number of hotels together with a great many stores and commission houses, a very large Steam Mill and distillery. Steam Boats land here as they ascend and descend the Ohio together with a great many Keels and flat bottoms thus giv-

ing the place the appearance of life and comertial animation.

25th

Crossed the Ohio river, (which here is about 1 mile wide,) into Kentucky, passed through Burlington the shier town of Boone County. Timber about the same as in Illinois but of an inferior quality. The black Locust grows here in a native state. The soil is of a light clay cast but by proper cultivation it produces well. Corn fine. Winter wheat nearly an entire failure through the state. Hay and Oats scarce. The cultivation of Tobacco is practised to a very conciderable extent here but owing to a cold and backward spring the farmers did not get planting till late consequently the crop will be short. Weather cloudy and raining at short intervals all day. Traveling, very rough owing to the broken, and uneven, surface of the country, caused by the numerous small branches that intersect each in all directions thus cutting the country up into hills and ravines. These branches flow very rapid when swollen by rain baring down vast quantities of rock and gravel from the high lands and deposit it in the low grounds.

26th

Passed up the dry range through Williams Town and camped 5 miles east of town. Saw today the gallows upon which May and Couch was hung by the Williamstown mob some 18 months ago for the attempted murder of a Wm Utterback, a citizen of Bourbon County. It consisted nearly of a rough pole with one end placed in the fork of a sapling and the other suported by forks against a tree some ten or twelve feet distant. Traveling very rough. Weather dark and showery.

27th

Traveling still rough. Weather dark and damp. Saw several fields of Hemp today but of a indiferent quality

FROM CENTRAL ILLINOIS TO THE

owing to the wetness of the season. Corn fine. All other graines and fruit scarce.

28th

Came through Paris the County town of Bourbon, on to Grandfather Young's. The soil of a dark brownish cast producing Corn, Hemp, and Tobacco with various other graines in abundance. Traveling somewhat improved. Weather Clowdy.

General remarks.

The general appearance of the country is of a rough broken and hilly nature. The soil is of a clay quality but productive. There is vast quantities of rock found here not only along the creeks and Branches but they are scattered permiscuously over the whole surfice so abundantly as in many places to seriously retard and prevent the cultivation of the land. The principal articles grown is Corn, Wheat, Oats, Buckwheat, Grass, Hemp, Tobacco and Fruit of various kinds. Vast quantities of Hogs and Cattle are rased here for the Eastern and river Markets. During the great fever of speculation which passed through our country when the County was flooded with Money, property rose here to a great highth and men entered into schemes of speculation which finaly proved the ruin of many hundreds. They bought land at exorbitant prices, imported the finest stock from abroad, erected splended houses and furnished them in the most elegant and costly manner, and confidently looked forward to the time they would be bountee rich when they could live in ease, luxury and fashionable elegance but, lo! a cloud was seen to rise over finantial affairs at the east and sudenly passed to the West, leaving ruin and desolation in its course. Money depreciated and property of every disscription fell in value thus leaving hundreds and thousands involved in irecoverable bansruptcy.

There is an evil existing here and that of a serious and dangerous character. and candid and reflecting minds see it and are anxiously looking forward to the results—I mean Slavery. Here are thousands of rational beings kept in perpetual bondage and compelled to labour day in and day out for the private emolument of others with out any hope of ever bettering their condition. Yes, here is hundreds and thousands of beings within whose bosoms the sacred fire of Freedom and Liberty burnes as strong and whose rights are as sacred and as dear as those of the Pilgrim Fathers, kept in the galling chaines of Servitude and oppression and are denied in some instances the common necessities of Life. Here is beings endowed with an intellect susceptible of endless improvement chained down amidst the thick mist of ignorance and superstition that naturally envelops the human mind and even denied the privilage of enjoying one ray of intellectual light or improvement and all this to in a land of boasted light, a land where the arts and sciences has almost attained to perfection. Yes here is thousands of mortal beings possessed with immortal spirits that will live through eternity, living and dying in heathenish darkness and not one to brake the bread of life to them or even to comfort them in the hour of death and this, too, in a land of Christian light and knowledge, a land of giving thousands a year to cary the gospel to the perishing heathen of other climes. This is as it should not be. Can it be said that a country enjoys the blessings of universal Freedom and Christian light where such things is permitted to exist in it and that, too, under the broad sanction of Law? The voice of reason and of justice speaks in termes that cannot be misunderstood that this land is yet in the iron grasp of political tyranny and so long as such things arise I make no hesitation to assert that the glorious sun of universal Liberty has yet to rise and cast its glorious and fructifying rays over this land.

FROM CENTRAL ILLINOIS TO THE

From the 28th to the 9 of October the weather was dark and cloudy with heavy showers of rain allmost every day.

October the 9th

Left John Cunningham's in Bath County and passed through Sharpsburg a small country town in Bath county, through Moorfield, crossed Licking at the upper Bluelicks (a place celebrated in the early settlement of Kentucky for the immense herds of Buffalo Deer and Elk that resorted hither for the benefit of the Salt. Formerly large quantities of salt was manufactured here but owing to the water becoming very strongly impregnated with sulphur its manufacture has been discontinued). Crossed Fleming Creek and camped 1 mile south of Elisaville. Timber scarce. All kinds of grain inferior but Corn, which is heavy and fine. Weather Cloudy and damp. Traveling very heavy and slavish owing to the Bad State of the roads caused by so long continued wet weather.

10th

Passed through Elisaville and Washington the shiar town of Mason County and camped 7 miles south of Ripley on the Ohio. Soil rich and productive here. Great quantities of Hemp is raised but of an inferior quality the present season. Timber and crops about the same as discribed yesterday. Weather wet and cool.

11th

Crossed the Ohio at Ripley 9 miles below Mayville, passed through Russelville and Carlisle in Brown County and lodged 5 miles South of Fincastle. The Timber is heavy. Soil light. Crops of all kinds short. Weather Clear and cool.

12th

Passed through Fincastle on to Robert S. Young's in Highland County. Soil of a light clay cast, crops inferior.

SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN 1843

Weather cool cloudy and spitting snow in the afternoon with a very heavy Frost the following night.

13th 14th and 15th

Clear and Cool with a Northern wind.

Owing to the very bad state of my health which have very much impaired my phisical powers I have been compelled to relinquish any further atempt at Journaliseing. Suffice it to say we started for Virginia the sixteenth of October and after a long and uncomfortable trip of nineteen days gained our Journies end. The weather during this period was very unfavorable to our enterprise being cold and wet most of the time. The roads were tollerable good until we entered the mountains. here we found these very ruff and rocky which rendered traveling tedious and unpleasant. The scenery especially through the mountains was rich and beautifull, the view from the Warm Spring Mountain was grand, imposeing and picturesque to the utmost. From the Summit could be seen Eliot's knob riseing in towering majesty with all its rich and varied hues. Still beyond at the distance of seventy miles could be seen the Blueridge, shrouded in its sombre and misty garb of blue with a thousand intervening hills which gives the scene a rich and diversified apearance.

November the 15th

Left David Sterrett's on our return home. Passed through the Buffalo Gap on to John Young's, in the pastures, 22 miles west of Staunton. Land through the Valley of a reddish cast; producing fine. Through the Gap it is of a thin, rocky and poor quality. Timber abundant and of excelent quality. Corn tollerable good. Wheat about half a crop, other grain short. Weather Clowdy with rain in the afternoon.

FROM CENTRAL ILLINOIS TO THE

16th

Left J. Youngs passed through the Painter Gap, on by the windy cave to A. Crawfords 12 miles east of the warm Springs. Land very broken and mountainous with a thin poor soil, corn inferior, wheat good. Weather clear and warm for the season. The windy cave is a considerable curiosity. At certain periods there is a constant stream of aire discharged from this cave, the cause of which is unknown.

Crossed the Cowpasture river, the Warm spring Mountain, passed through the Warm and Hot springs in Bath county, and camped on Cedar creek 3 miles west of the Hot Springs. Land mountainous with a thin clay soil producing very indifferently. Timber tollerable good but of a small growth. Weather cloudy with rain about noon. Traveling heavy. The Warm springs are situated mid way on the Lewisburg and Stanton Turnpike. They are a place of considerable resort for invalids during the bathing season. The water at all times is about milk warm which renders bathing very pleasant. There is an elegant set of County Buildings consisting of a court Room, clerks and auditors office, and Jail erected here to which may be added three elegant hotels, two bathing houses and several stores and work shops. The Hot Springs lye 5 miles farther west. The waters of these Springs are considerable warmer than those of the Warm Springs. They are also a place of considerable resort for persons during the warm season for the purpose of bathing. Met 2 droves of hogs of 300 each from Nicolas.

18th

Passed down Cedar Creek. Crossed Jacksons river over Jacksons mountain and camped in the Alleganies 20 miles east of Lewisberg. Land mountainous. Soil of a slaty quality producing very moderately. Grain of all discriptions scarce and very dear. Timber, mostly pine of various

species; Oak, of different kinds, and Poplar. Weather clear and warm. Traveling pleasant.

Our camp to night is one of rare beauty and striking sublimity. Here we are camped amid the rocky steeps of the Alleghanies; shut in as it was from all intercourse with the busy throng of civilised life by inaccessible mountains with no other objects to strike our vision but towering cliffs and rocky steeps covered with their thick forests of lofty pines whose dark green foliage dimly reflect the light of our cheerfull fire with not a sound to break the stillness of the surrounding scene but the whisper of the gentle Zephyr as it passes among the trees like some fairy nymph together with the falling of the mountain torrents as they madley urge their course on to pay their tribute to oceans wide domain. Ocasionally the mournfull note of the lone night hawk would break upon our ear like the plaintive voice of midnight sorrow

19th

Crossed the Alleghanies passed the White Sulpher Springs. Crossed Greenbriar river passed through Lewisburg the county town of Green-briar County and camped 4 miles west of Town. Land mountainous. Soil east of the river of a slaity quality producing very indifferent crops. West of the river it is of a dark reddish cast producing fine crops of grain and grass. Timber fine. Weather clear and cool. Traveling good. Passed 1 drove of 200 Hogs from Fleming County. Ky.

The White Sulpher Springs are situated 9 miles east of Lewisburg in Green briar County. During the warm season these springs are the resort for persons from all parts of the United States, not only those in quest of health but thousands of rich and fashionable congregate here to spend the summer in ease and luxurie. The buildings are large and elegant and of sufficion capacity to acomodate three

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thousand persons which is often insufficient to acomodate all visiting these Springs.

20th

Crossed Muddy creek Mountain, passed through the meadow and camped on the top of little Sewell. Land broken. Soil of a stiff sterile clay. Timber fine. Weather cloudy with a heavy rain in the afternoon and snow at night. Traveling very bad owing to the wet weather which have rendered the road almost impassible. Met 5 droves of hogs, 1 of 500 from Fleming, 1 of 200 from Montgomery, 1 of 500 Nicolas, 1 of 600 Bath, 1 of 500 Mason, all from Ky.

The meadows or flat plaines or valleys very much resemble the praries of the West in apearance the Soil is of a tough sterile clay producing a kind of water hazel and a little coarse grass such as grow in the wet grounds in the West.

21st

Crossed little and big Sewell and camped in Gawley mountain 25 miles east of the falls of Kanawa. Land of a yellow clayey cast being what is technicaly termed chesnut soil. Timber good. Weather rainy with an occasional shower of snow. Traveling very heavy. Camping disagreeable. Met 6 droves of hogs; 1 of 900, Mason. 1 of 500, Montomery. 2 of 500 each, Nicholas. I of 600 Giles all from Ky. and 1 of 500 not known.

22nd

Crossed Gawley mountain, passed the Hawk's nest and camped on Newriver cliffs 3 miles east of the falls. Land very mountainous with a stiff clay soil. Timber tolerable good, grain of all kinds scarce and very dear. Weather clear and warm. Traveling heavy. Passed the Kanawa stage up sett over Newriver cliffs. This accident happened in the night, the horses in doubling a short turn in the cliff

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took fright, and ran over a precipice some 80 feet deep. There was three passengers, all of whom escaped injury. The horses were very badly crippled. Passed 2 droves 1 of 600, Ross, and 1 of 400, Jackson's counties Ohio.

23rd

Decended Newriver cliffs, passed the Gawley, the falls of Kanawa and camped at Harvey's 26 miles south of Charleston. Land almost one continual Bluff with a small portion of bottom land which is very rich and productive. Weather fair and warm. Traveling somewhat improved. Passed 2 droves 1 of 600 Nicholas and Bourbon and 1 of 300 not known.

Met a drove of Negroes to day retourning back from Mississippi to Virginia. The condition of thes miserable unfortunate creatures was realy deploreable. Here was the aged of both sexes whose heads ware white with the frosts of many winters and whose feeble and tottery step plainley told that they ware near the end of life's weary Journey, tottering along on their staves followed by a hawty overseer to goad and urge them forward when nature's strength failed under fatigue and oppression; and they compelled to endure all this with no assurance of ever enjoying a single day of ease or comfort or with no other prospect ahead than perpetual servitude and oppression. Such conduct is highly reprehendable by all candid and reflecting minds.

24th

Passed down the Kanawa, through the Salines, and camped 4 miles south of Charleston. Land on the bottom, level, and very rich and productive producing fine corn and grass. There is no wheat grown here in consequence of corn being a much better article for sale. This commodity allways commands a good price and ready sale here. Passed 56 Salt furnaces to day. Of this number 14 are abandoned, 7 out of repair, 30 in active opporation, and 5 new ones

going up. Met 2 droves 1 of 630, Highland Ohio, 1 of 100 Giles, Va. Passed 2 Steem boats. Weather fair, traveling rough.

25th

Passed through Charleston, crossed Elk river at Pocatalico and camped 36 miles south of Point Pleasant. Bottom land to day considerably enlarged and of exelant quality. Passed 6 salt furnaces. Of these 4 was in opporation and 2 abandoned.

Charleston is the county town of Kanawa county. It contains a good set of public buildings, several churches, a Bank, a number of stores and taverns together with a great many handsome and elegant private dwellings. Population about 1,000.

The Kanawa Salines are situated on the Kanawa river, from which they take their name, commencing four miles above Charleston and extend fourteen miles up the river on both sides. The whole number of Furnaces as near as I could ascertain was about 62. Of this number 16 was abandoned, 7 undergoing repair, 34 in active opporation and 5 new ones gowing up. The water from which the salt is obtained is procured from wells bored through the solid rock from three to five hundred feet deep. The water is raised into reservoirs by means of a pump worked by steem. The evaporation is accomplished by meanes of a large pipe passing through large wooden trough which is heated by steem. This process is much speedier and furnishes a much better article of salt than the old fashion of boiling in kettles. The article used for fuel is principally Stone coal which is found in great abundance in the surrounding Cliffs. It is dug out and transported to the furnaces by coal wagons running on a rail road drawn by two horses or mules; and in one case I saw a car traveling on the railes at great speed with no other propelling power than the force of gravity.

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26th

Passed down the Kanawa by the Read house sholes and camped 15 miles from Point Pleasant. The bottomes here are large, flat, and in some places wet and marshy. Soil rich and productive. Weather clowdy but warm for the season. Traveling conciderably improved. Passed one Steem Boat going up.

27th

Continued our course down the Kanawa. Crossed the Ohio at Point Pleasant, the county town of Mason county situated at the mouth of the Kanawa. Kept down the Ohio through Gallipolise the shiar town of Gallia county and struck our fire 4 miles west of Town. Land level and very rich, strongly resembling alluvial soil. Weather Cold and disagreeable. Traveling laborious and unpleasant. Saw two steem boats, the Virginia on the Kanawa, and the Arcade on the Ohio.

28th

Continued our cours on west, crossed Racoon, passed Adamsville and lodged at George Poors 33 miles east of Chillicothe. Land hilley and broken Soil of a reddish claye cast with conciderable sand mixed with it Timber abundant and of exelent quality. The prospect for wheat fine. Weather clowdy with ocasional shower. Traveling disagreeable. Roads very bad.

29th

Passed through Jackson the County town of Jackson County, situated on the road leading from Chillicothe to Gallipolis 33 miles from the later and 28 from the former. The population I suppose is about 600. Camped to night on Salt Creek 9 miles east of Richmond. Land very hilley and broken soil, clayey and very sandy. Weather clowdy and wet. Traveling very heavy and disagreeable owing to

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the very bad state of the roads which are allmost impassible. The prospect for wheat quite flatering.

30th

Crossed Salt creek, passed through Richmond and camped on the Sciota 4 miles east of Chillicothe. Land level and very productive, yielding heavy crops of corn of which great quantities are raised. During the winter this is fed to cattle which are principally purchased and drove from the West. They are fatted here and drove to the Eastern markets where they always find a ready sale. The prospect for Wheat very encouraging. Weather still clowdy but warm for the season. Traveling very disagreeable. Passed an Indian mound and embankment of earth to day, situated 9 miles east of Chillicothe on the road leading to Galliopolis.

December the 1st 1843

Crossed the Sciota, passed through Chillicothe, Bourenville and camped 5 miles east of Bainbridge. Land level and somewhat sandy producing fine crops of a moderately wet season. Owing to the soil resting on a bed of course gravel varying from one to four foot thick which readily facilitates the escape of the moisture from the surface, the crops often suffer from draught of a dry season. From whence and how these gravels came here is unknown and has long been a subject of conjecture and theory among learned men, but from their peculiar form and polished surfeices it is evident that they have been raught (wrought) upon by abrasion and from the manner in which they are deposited it is easily inferred that they ware carried here by water. The prospect for wheat very good. Weather clowdy with strong indications of snow. Traveling improved especially on the Turnpike.

2nd

Crossed Paint creek through Bainbridge, up Paint, crossed Rockey fork through Rainesborough, and struck

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our fire in the Woods 10 miles east of Hillsborough. Land on the bottom level and productive. Wheat looks fine. Weather cloudy and cool. Traveling very bad owing to the miserable state of the roads which in many places are impassible. Passed a number of Indian mounds to day of various sizes.

3rd

Passed through Hillsborough, the county town of Highland County, and Danville on to Robert S. Young's. Land high and somewhat broken, soil of a yellow clay or in other words a white oak soil. Timber very fine. Wheat looks well. Weather clear and cool but fine, for the season. Traveling slow and tedious. Roads somewhat improved. From the 4th to 15th the weather has been quite wintery. On the night of 5th, snow fell to the depth of 4 inches which lay until the 11th, when it moderated and the snow disappeared; but the following night it turned cold and froze very severe; and snowed again the 12th. Winter in all her power and majesty is upon us. The earth is again wrapped up in her ice bound chaines, the brooks are again congealed with winters chilly blasts, the wind moanes through the forests and around the houses like the voice of mournfull solitude, while all around is clothed in robes of purest white. The sun in vaine endeavors to warm and enliven the solitude of the surrounding scene by its cheerfull preasance.

In vain, the sun attempts with feeble ray

To drive, cold chilley winter away.

Suggest for 2nd line, To drive the breath of winter's chill away.

Cold winters come in power and might

Garlanded in robes of purest white

And, for last line, Dressed in her robes of purest white.

19th

Left R. S. Youngs for Illinois. Passed through Buford a small vilage in the west edge of Highland county, crossed

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White oak and Sterling creeks and camped at Henry Sly's 36 miles east of Cincinnati. The general appearance of the country is that of a perfect table, or flat plain with an occasional sluggish and insipid running stream, issuing from some swamp or marsh. The soil is of a stiff sterile clay. Owing to the levelness of the country and the tenacious quality of the soil this part of country is not valuable as an Agricultural district. Timber very heavy. Weather clear and warm. Traveling heavy and rough owing to the roads being in places macadamised with sound timber.

20th

Crossed the east fork of the little Miami, passed through Williamsburg (a village containing perhaps 500 inhabitants) formerly the county town of Clermont County, and struck our fire 1 mile East of Batavia. East of the east fork the general appearance of the country is very much similar to that passed through yesterday. Between the East fork and Batavia the country assumes a more broken aspect with a dark red soil or in other words a limestone soil which produces very fine. Weather clear and remarkable warm for the season. The prospect for wheat fine. Traveling heavy.

21st

Passed through Batavia the county town of Clermont county, New-town, crossed the little Miami and lodged at Brown's on Walnut street, Cincinnati. Land very broken but of a rich productive quality and generally well improved, especially between the little Miami and the city. Weather cloudy with rain in the afternoon. Wheat looks fine. Traveling good. The Columbus train of Rail-road cars passed us this afternoon.

22nd

Spent to day in the city. Cincinnati, the county town of Hamilton county and the Queen city of the west is elegantly

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situated on the North bank of the Ohio 494 miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The citie is layed out in squares and mostly elegantly built the streets are paved and generally remarcable clean. The warf is large and always crowded with boats, drays cariages and thousands of persons who have assembled here from all parts of the civilised world. There is 2 markets here which for variety, quantity, and quality cannot be surpassed by any other in the West. There is a great many elegant public buildings here for various purposes. In point of wealth enterprise and commerce, Cincinati is with out a rival in the Great Valley. It commands the trade of an extensive, rich and populous tract of country. There is a line of rail roads from this city to Columbus, a Turnpike to Stubensville via Chilacotha and Zanesville, and a Canal to Dayton and on the oposite side of the river there is the Lexington turnpike all centering here bringing the trade of different parts of the country here to swell the extensive river trade which is immense. The population in 1840 was 46,338.

23rd

Took passage on the Mesanger (Messenger) for St. Louis.

24th

Weighed anchor, crossed over to Covington, passed North Bend the late residence of W. H. Harison. Lawrenceburg, Aurora, Rising Sun and Madison on the north bank of the Ohio and Port William at the mouth of the Kentucky and landed at Louisville about day light. Weather clear and fine. The river quite full with a conciderable drift wood running.

25th

Spent to day in Louisville. This being Christmas we lay by. Weather fare and very warm for the season. 18 boats in port to day.

FROM CENTRAL ILLINOIS TO THE

26th

Left Louisville, passed New Albany, the mouth of Salt river, Brandenburg, Fredonia, Rome, Troy, Rockport and the mouth of Green river. Weather clear and warm. Traveling agreeable and pleasant. River still rising. Officers and hands agreeable and pleasant.

27th

Passed Evansville, Mount Vernon, the mouth of the Wabash, Shawneetown, Smithland at the mouth of the Cumberland, Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee and Cairo at the mouth of the Ohio. Passed up the Mississippi 40 miles and lay by until day light. Went aground twice to night in the Mississippi. A full tide in the Ohio, the Mississippi remarkably low. Weather clear and warm.

28th

Passed the mouth of the Kaskaska and ran to 10 o'clock when we stopped owing to fog. Passed the Meridian snagged and sunk to the cabin. No lives lost. Weather clear and fine. Ran aground twice to day.

29th

Passed Cape Gerideau, (Girardeau) St Genevieve and landed at St. Louis. Weather clear and cool with a severe frost to night. Saw several groves of pines on the west side of the river.

30th

Went on the Osprey to Alton. Passed the Sylph snagged and sunk. Weather clear in the fore noon, clouded about noon, and rained the night following. Camped at Armstrong.

31st

Passed Monticello and Dresden in Madison County, and camped with Lowdron in Jerseyville. Weather cloudy with rain in the afternoon. Roads good. Land undulating

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and dry soil rich and productive. A fare prospect for wheat.

January 1st

Passed through Kane, crossed Magoupin creek through Carrollton the county town of Green, and camped 7 miles south of White hall. weather rainy. Roads somewhat wet and slippery.

2nd

Passed through White Hall and Manchester and camped 2 miles south of Apple creek. Land mostly timber of a tollerable good quality. The prospect for wheat good. Weather clowdy. The fore noon changed about 12 and blew up a strong gale from the West accompanied with snow. Traveling somewhat heavy.

3rd

Passed through Jacksonville, the county town of Morgan and camped 2 miles east of town. Land level and rich. Corn indifferent. The prospect for wheat good. Weather clear and sufficiently cold to be agreeable traveling and rather than miss it have kept on, though it is cold enough to be comfortable by the fire.

4th

Came through Indian Creek timber and lodged at Wm Kirks on Richland. Land tollerable undulating and rich. A tollerable prospect for wheat. Weather clear and cold. Traveling rough.

5th

Crossed Richland creek, passed through Rock creek timber, entered the Sangamon timber. Crossed Sangamon River and landed at home. Weather clear and cold. Traveling tedious and rough.

JOHN E. YOUNG.

CHARLES HENRY RAMMELKAMP, 1874-1932

I.

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

BY MERRILL M. BARLOW

With an inheritance of sturdy uprightness from his German parents, who were making a place for themselves in the America of the first half of the 19th century, Charles Henry Rammelkamp began life on February 25, 1874, in a modest but favorable environment.

His father, George Rammelkamp, a skilled cabinet maker, came from that part of Germany near the boundary of Holland where the population is Dutch in origin but of German nationality. He joined the "Forty-Niners" in the rush to California and found his share of gold. Returning to New York, he put it into the establishment of his business, a small furniture factory.

Charles Rammelkamp lived in a German atmosphere. His father had a family of several sons by his first marriage to a German woman, and his own mother, the second wife, was Meta Krack, a girl from the same region in Germany from which her husband came. German was the language of the household all during his youth. In fact, his mother continued to write to her son until her death in 1928, in her quaint German script. All the dear delights of a German household, its domesticity, its jollity, its love of festivities and sociability, its affection and sentiment were his. For him birthdays and Christmas and Easter were high festi-

vals, with many family customs to observe. So was his heart kept simple and warm.

This little German-American boy made for himself a contented boyhood. When free from school work, he roamed the Orange Mountains, as the friendly hills near his home are called. Probably his foreign background made a slight gulf between him and the lads of his neighborhood. At any rate, he learned to be alone with Nature and to love her. Pets of all kinds he raised and loved; birds and flowers were his intimates. Days in the woods taught him to know not only nature, but himself.

And the region he tramped was historic. He absorbed the history of Washington and his New Jersey campaign. Often he stood on that lookout point on the Orange Mountain from which Washington had viewed the movements of his army. Springfield, Summit, South Orange, were his homes, and the years he spent in the old Revolutionary dwelling in whose walls a cannon-ball from the battle of Springfield was still imbedded, gave him the thrill of the drama of history, which doubtless was an inspiration for his life work.

His home atmosphere did not, however, stimulate him to a soaring ambition and while he was a conscientious and eager student, he would probably not have conceived the idea of going to college if it had not been for the active interest of one of his instructors, who saw in him a lad of promise, whose willingness to work matched his ability. She persuaded his parents that here was a son who should be given opportunity. Always, in his maturer years, Charles Rammelkamp acknowledged his great debt to this mother of his intellectual life. To him she remained the shining example of what a teacher may and should be.

So his boyhood passed, guided by teachers who appreciated and stimulated his mind, happy in the affection of his home, spurred by his physical vigor and his love of

nature to a wholesome use of his leisure time. He grew into a quiet, happy, studious young man, awkward, no doubt, and diffident, but with a thoughtfulness that gave promise for the future.

His college, Cornell, opened up new vistas for which he was ready. The beauty of the campus at Ithaca gripped him and he loved his Alma Mater and her physical charm with a permanent and tender affection.

As a student, he was a tireless worker, persistent and thorough—both scholarly German traits. He might have been termed a “grind” had it not been for the many other channels of his activity. His earnest nature made him serious and thoughtful in religious matters. Bred a Lutheran, he joined the Congregational Church in Ithaca and was very active in the work of the Y. M. C. A. on the campus. He was one of a group who went out to speak in pulpits of nearby country churches.

Debating and oratory attracted him and developed his self-assurance and poise. He became president of the Curtis Debating Society and won the coveted Woodford Prize in Oratory with his oration on “Truth and Dogma.”

He became one of that group of anti-fraternity men who sought to loosen the grip of the fraternities upon the political activities of the campus. In this process he became one of the leaders, and eventually was elected to the editorship of the *Cornell Sun*, the student campus paper, a position of much importance in student life. Undoubtedly, this conscious opposition to the influence of fraternities on the campus made him enter with real sympathy into the situation which he found at Illinois College later on, where the tradition of the old literary societies still persists.

His physical vigor found its outlet in skating, swimming, and tennis, and the long walks which were all through his life his greatest delight. Good times with both men and women on the campus and lake broke down his diffidence.

Older men, faculty and alumni among them, liked to talk to this thoughtful young student. One of these was David Starr Jordan, who later called him to a chair at Leland Stanford University.

In his senior year his scholastic efforts were crowned by his admission into the honor society of Phi Beta Kappa, and into the honorary senior society of Quill and Dagger.

His devotion to History and his work under Professors Stevens and Tyler led to his continuing his work at Cornell on a fellowship after graduation. Then came an instructorship in 1897, which continued until he obtained his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1900. A year of study at the University of Berlin, where his German background made him feel much at home, and of travel by bicycle over much of the continent in company with his good friend, George Dutcher—now Professor of History at Wesleyan, Connecticut—completed his preparation for his career. The death of his mentor and friend, Professor Moses Coit Tyler, during his absence abroad, blasted his plan to return to Cornell to teach in the History Department, and it was then that the call came to Stanford.

California was a new and delightful experience. His year there only expanded his love of outdoor life and his zest for his chosen career of teaching. One day, in a conversation with another instructor, Edward Putnam, of the class of '91, Illinois College, he learned that President Barnes was seeking a man for the chair of History at Illinois. Mr. Putnam wrote to President Barnes, and the call came. So Charles Henry Rammelkamp came to the Middle West, a region new to him, and took up a task, also new, the work of teaching in a small college.

II.

THE EDUCATOR: AN APPRECIATION

BY JOE PATTERSON SMITH

The death of Charles Henry Rammelkamp on April 5, 1932, brought to a close the career of a distinguished college president. For twenty-seven years Mr. Rammelkamp had given Illinois College as its President, an administration to which only those of the pioneer presidents of the institution are in any way comparable. His work concerned itself with rehabilitating and enlarging an inadequate college plant, with increasing endowment to carry the overhead of the refurbished physical equipment of the institution, with securing and protecting that group of skilled artisans commonly called 'the faculty,' and, not the least of his labors, with building up and maintaining those high standards of educational proficiency which the term 'liberal arts college' meant to this idealist. The successful completion of any of these tasks would have brought distinction to the man as an able administrator; but the achievement of all gives substance to the statement that President Rammelkamp was truly a great educator.

From an early age 'Prexy,' as the successive generations of students at Illinois College fondly referred to Mr. Rammelkamp, was an exponent of the simple life. Born in New York City on February 25, 1874, the President spent his youth in the neighboring New Jersey suburban area where his parents moved shortly after his birth. There, he spent his vacation periods roaming the countryside, exploring each historic spot and acquiring, incidentally, a deep appreciation of nature and of history. When this quiet nature-loving boy was seventeen, he was graduated from South Orange High School. Partially due to the influence of an excellent teacher in this school, he had acquired an

intense interest in study, and in the autumn of 1892 he entered Cornell University.

The period of undergraduate study which followed Charles Rammekamp's matriculation at Cornell was one of enviable accomplishment and development. At this early age he evidenced a dislike for caste distinctions in college life and became a leader of the student body in the perennial warfare against the domination of campus politics by the fraternities. During his senior year, this leadership reached fruition with his election to the editorship of the *Cornell Sun*. The editorship of any college paper is a coveted prize; but fortunate, indeed, the young man who secures the management of the Cornell daily for in Ithaca this paper serves not only the college community but the townspeople as well. From this vantage point he reached a larger audience as he championed democracy in college life. Though a prominent role in campus politics and the editorship of the college paper might seem in themselves sufficient to occupy the waking moments of any student, this one did not neglect his academic work. As he had proved in high school, Charles Rammekamp continued to prove in college that he was a superior student. Timid and bashful almost to a point of self-effacement, he entered into oratorical competition and won the Woodford Prize in Oratory. From this victory and all it entailed, as he asserted later, he derived confidence and self-assurance which stood him in good stead in later life. Also, at his graduation he was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa, an honor which he cherished. Thus in 1896, when William Jennings Bryan whom the youthful Rammekamp was to know more intimately later, was stumping the country in the interests of the common man, Charles Henry Rammekamp, champion of the common man at Cornell, moved towards the more intensive study of history and economics.

The next five years in the life of this tall, almost lanky, New Jersey youth were extremely fruitful, bringing with them travel, teaching, intensive study and contact with vital personalities amongst his contemporaries and mentors. Amongst his fellow-students at Cornell was a galaxy of alert and able young men whose later achievements make them illustrious figures. From such men as George M. Dutcher, Charles A. Beard and William H. Glasson he learned much in the give and take which is one of the delightful adjuncts of graduate study. Graduate study in itself, is a boon to the person who affords it and that under the direction of Andrew D. White, George Lincoln Burr, Morse Stephens and Moses Coit Tyler must have been particularly gratifying. Stephens and Tyler became warm personal friends with Rammelkamp as was shown by his intense interest in the fields of their specialization until his teaching days ended. Tyler's interest in Rammelkamp as well as the latter's ability brought this young student in the autumn of 1897 an instructorship in history at Cornell. This position he held until he was awarded the doctorate in 1900. The following year he travelled and studied in Europe, to return in the autumn of 1901 to accept a position at Leland Stanford University whence he came to Jacksonville, Illinois, in the autumn of 1902 to begin work at Illinois College which occupied him until the day of his death.

The environment in which Charles Henry Rammelkamp, Professor of History and Political Science at Illinois College, found himself seemed strange to him. The large university with its extensive libraries and excellent equipment to which he was accustomed was replaced by a small college with a pitifully incomplete library and physical equipment correspondingly negligible. The large student population of both men and women to which he was accustomed had shrunk to tiny proportions and, as he put it, "the refining influence of women" was lacking. The large faculty of the

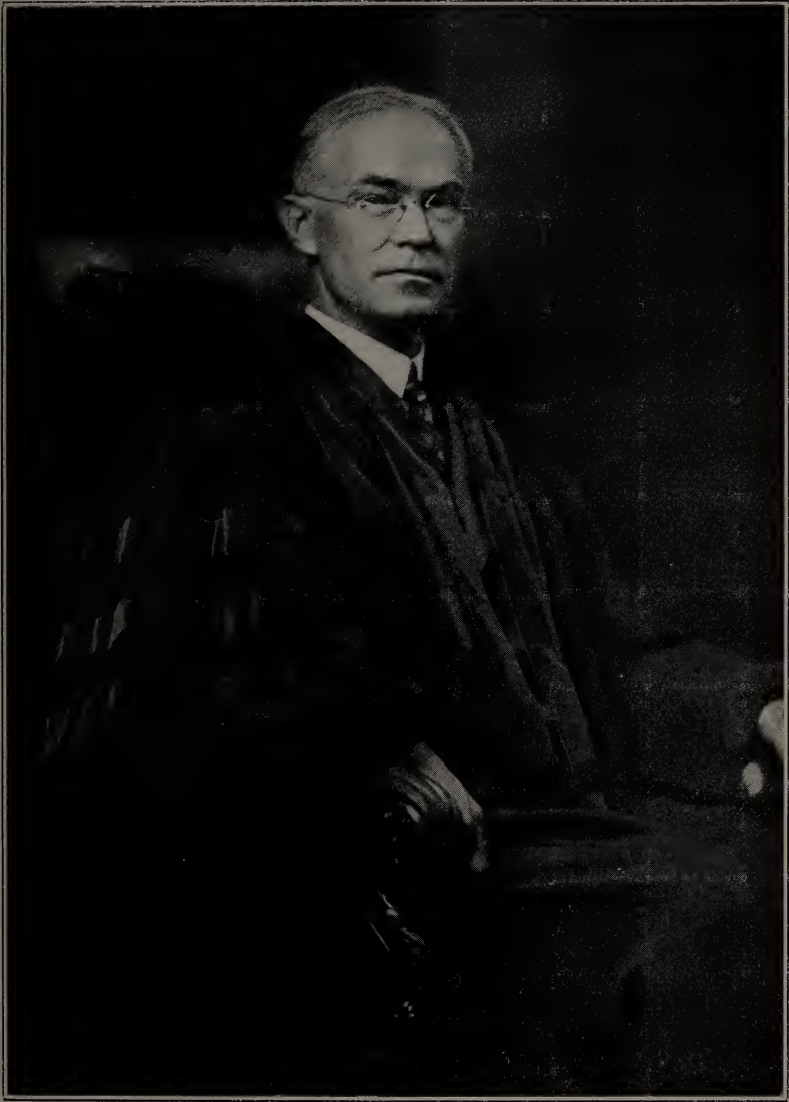
university from which he had previously chosen his companions was no longer available to him. This lack, however, was somewhat mitigated by the fact that the faculty at Illinois College at this time was a group of young men all with special training in their chosen fields. Instead of teaching advanced classes in a specialized and narrowly limited field, he now taught courses in all periods of history, political science and economics. To be sure, he had received training in these fields; but until his advent at Illinois College he had had no experience in teaching a broad curriculum of courses from the academy grade to senior college. Furthermore, Illinois College, nearly bankrupt, manned by a new faculty and a president of two years' experience, was in a state of uncertainty and unrest. The plans of the new administration called for extensive development and for changes which had upset both the student body and the friends of the college, who looked askance upon the new regime. The new Professor of History, however, was young, well tempered, widely travelled and experienced for a man of his years, and a hard worker. Consequently, he went at the task of adapting himself to his new situation with a quiet enthusiasm which soon gained for him a solid following in the student body, amongst the trustees and the friends of the college.

The circumstances which surrounded the administration of President Barnes, set forth in so far as they affected Mr. Rammelkamp in the preceding paragraph, reached a breaking point in the spring of 1905. Pledges of financial assistance given Mr. Barnes by many friends of the college remained unfulfilled. There was a constantly mounting deficit. Plans for a merger with Blackburn College which it was hoped would save the day, were rejected by the Blackburn trustees. An affiliation with the University of Chicago was not received with any enthusiasm in Jacksonville. A continuous 'beating of the bushes' for students failed to increase

the registration at the college. Only one prospective change seemed to be working out; Illinois College had absorbed the Jacksonville Female Academy and become a co-educational institution. But, despite the increased endowment which came as the result of this merger and the addition of a few students from this source, the outlook at 'Old Illinois' in the spring of 1905 was as black as it ever had been. President Barnes exerted himself in every direction; but to no avail. When he resigned the probability that Illinois College would close was apparent even to the most optimistic. If the college and all that it had stood for during the past seventy-five years was to survive, herculean efforts to save it must come from some undiscovered source. Facing this momentous crisis, the trustees turned to Mr. Rammelkamp.

A less courageous man than Charles Henry Rammelkamp would have shied from accepting the offer of the Presidency of Illinois College. Indubitably, he had some misgivings for in his *History of the College*, published at the time of its centennial in 1929, he set forth in detail his feelings as he approached the new task and opportunity which had come his way. When he was inaugurated, with a characteristically simple and spontaneous ceremony, as President of 'Old Illinois,' he was thirty-one years of age, tall, erect, patient, clear-eyed and, more important, clear-thinking. He knew as well as any man could what obstacles lay before him if success were to be brought out of apparent failure. The peculiar earnestness of the man, his forthrightness, practicality, meticulous regard for detail, deep understanding of economic theory as well as its application, a youthful enthusiasm which did not blink at hard work and a firm conviction that there was a need the world over for the small liberal arts college, were the qualities which he brought to the task of rebuilding this dying institution.

President Rammelkamp's talents had opportunity for full play in solving the particularly knotty problem of college



CHARLES HENRY RAMMELKAMP

finances. When he assumed the Presidency, Illinois College had an endowment of one hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars and an accumulated indebtedness of about thirty-five thousand dollars. At the time of his death, the college endowment stood at one and a quarter millions and there was no indebtedness to plague his successor and the trustees. How was this transformation wrought? Despite considerable opposition from certain members of the Board of Trustees, indefatigably he sought assistance from men of great wealth. William Jennings Bryan, who was then Chairman of the Board of Trustees, flatly refused to consider a gift from such sources as welcome. Mr. Bryan maintained that 'tainted money' obtained, as he averred, through the undue exploitation of the American democracy, if taken by Illinois College would set at naught the ideals of democracy in education for which the institution stood. Mr. Rammelkamp, on the other hand, with perhaps a deeper understanding of the processes which had dominated American economic development, realized that all funds of any magnitude from which a college might secure an adequate endowment, were more or less tainted according to the Bryan standard. The President's test as to whether or not money from any source should be welcomed was the number of restrictions attached to such a gift. So long as money secured could be devoted to educational purposes without restriction Mr. Rammelkamp recommended acceptance. Around these two points of view the issue of securing immediate relief for the financial stringency of Illinois College, was joined. When Mr. Rammelkamp had perfected his plan and was ready to ask Mr. Carnegie for a sizable gift, Mr. Bryan and a minority of the board who were his personal friends and political colleagues resigned as a protest. Undaunted, Mr. Rammelkamp faced this new crisis squarely. When Mr. Andrew Carnegie made a sizable conditional gift to the college, a year later, Mr. Rammelkamp

advised its acceptance and secured the approval of the board. Deeply as President Rammelkamp regretted the withdrawal of Mr. Bryan and his followers, he could not but feel gratified that the greater portion of the friends of the college realized that the need for funds took precedence over the political idealism of this famous alumnus. Subsequently, the conditions of the Carnegie grant—the raising of an amount equal to that promised by Mr. Carnegie—were met. The gift was forthcoming. A real beginning had been made towards the rehabilitation of the finances of Illinois College. Before President Rammelkamp's administration ended, Mr. Carnegie, the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation made additional donations. The fine work in the educational field performed by the college which Mr. Bryan feared would be lost, continued undiminished.

Some men would have rested content with these gifts totalling in the neighborhood of one half a million dollars; not so President Rammelkamp. With a terrier-like tenacity, he searched in every field for financial support. He secured some help from old and tried friends of the college. Tirelessly he labored with the alumni, individually and collectively, to make them realize their debt to their Alma Mater. Every gift, large or small, received his hearty thanks. With what success his efforts were crowned, those who are curious may satisfy themselves by referring to the published annual reports of this man. Each year he reported many gifts to the trustees, faculty, students and friends of the college. The work of 'money-getting' was onerous and distasteful to him. Consequently his success at raising endowment stands everlastingly as a monument to his devotion to duty and a task well performed.

The increasingly prosperous condition of Illinois College raised another problem to vex Mr. Rammelkamp. In every institution of higher learning, certain of the faculty,

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students, alumni, trustees and friends are more interested in the outward manifestations of the educational unit than in the interior vitals. In this particular Illinois College was no exception. Almost immediately, there began a push for new buildings, new equipment, for those things, in short, which are summed up in the phrase 'brick and mortar.' No one, and certainly not Mr. Rammelkamp, could deny that there was a real need at Illinois College for new buildings and for improved equipment; but the President also knew that it was far more important to improve the personnel of the plant by increasing faculty salaries and attracting men of a higher caliber than could be secured with the small stipends paid in the early days of his administration. The President also realized that the curriculum called for expansion in certain particulars and until these two goals could be realized it would be absurd to expend funds, gathered with such tremendous effort, for buildings. When well-meaning friends approached him with pet schemes of borrowing from the endowment to erect new structures, the President received them with good-humored tact, but indicated beyond equivocation that the increase of faculty salaries and the expansion of curriculum took precedence in his mind over building operations. He also pointed out time and again that to borrow from endowment for the erection of buildings was a hazardous undertaking for in case of a financial stringency the college would find itself pressed to meet obligations incurred in this way and that the whole edifice might come tumbling down. Some called this undue conservatism; but that it has proved a wise policy even the most skeptical has been willing to admit during the past three years when the nation has witnessed a vast curtailment of faculties, curricula and salaries in those institutions which went 'building mad' in the previous decade. Steadily the President expanded the curriculum and just as persistently he encouraged the trustees to increase faculty salaries

so that he could attract to Illinois College instructors capable of handling the expanding curriculum and meeting those standards of proficiency which he desired. When these goals had been realized and the college had attained a rating not excelled by any college of its size in the nation, Mr. Rammelkamp directed his activity to the improvement of the equipment of the college.

The President's vision regarding the physical plant of Illinois College is realized by every returning alumnus who has been absent from the campus during the past few years. A lover of the out-of-doors and a widely travelled person, Mr. Rammelkamp possessed an excellent taste in form and structure and an appreciation of the natural beauty of the campus site. Buildings prior to his administration had been erected more or less haphazardly. When he began planning for the new buildings, for which he gathered funds in dribbles over a long period of time, he realized that a planned architecture as well as a careful location of buildings was highly desirable. The beauty of Beecher Hall, the oldest college building in the State, struck him. With this colonial type of structure in mind and with the aid of a young architect of promising ability, Mr. Denison Hull, he planned the beautiful new library and administration building and Baxter Hall, the men's commons. In addition, he furthered the acquisition of two magnificent colonial structures for the use of the women of the college. The first of these, the David A. Smith House, beautifully furnished with colonial antiques, gives the women of the college ample club room space. The other, Pitner Place, waits for the development of a woman's dormitory unit to replace the old one which came to the college when the Jacksonville Female Academy was absorbed. The erection of the new buildings, as well as the renovation of old ones was financed without placing a strain on the endowment for which those

who struggle with balancing the college budget are truly thankful.

An eminent educator once remarked, "If you would know a college president, learn his relationship to his faculty." Mr. Rammelkamp was ever an inspiration, a guide, a devoted friend and protector of the faculty of Illinois College. Persons who served on the faculty during his administration tell of many instances which illustrate his deep protective interest in them. Two of these possessing more than passing interest, will sufficiently indicate his attitude. During the World War, when the loyalty of many teachers of History, International Relations, German and kindred subjects was questioned, the patriotism of Miss Stella Cole, Professor of German, was doubted. Because Miss Cole failed to denounce German friends with the avidity which seems to be called for when one nation is in a death grapple with another, certain friends of the college questioned her patriotism and represented her as an indirect emissary of the Kaiser's government. President Rammelkamp's action in the matter was characteristic. He called a meeting of a committee of the Board of Trustees before which he placed all the data concerning Miss Cole's so-called waywardness. Then he gave the Professor of German full opportunity to make her position clear. Obviously, no fair minded person could object to Miss Cole's loyalty to friends in Germany who had nothing more to do with the coming and prosecution of the war than she had. The committee having conducted a thorough investigation, dismissed the criticism as having no basis in fact. At another time, Dean F. S. Hayden, Professor of Bible and Philosophy, whose liberal theological views irritated many of his colleagues of the clerical profession, was charged with entertaining and teaching heretical ideas. Perennially, a hue and cry went up for Mr. Hayden's removal from the faculty. Between this unreasonable demand and Mr. Hayden, President Rammelkamp

stood as a staunch protector. He knew Professor Hayden more intimately than did any of his accusers and was aware that his liberality was not unchristian although it was not dogmatically orthodox. Consequently, even though the college had to suffer unfortunate publicity and even though irreconcilables continued to press President Rammelkamp for the removal of Mr. Hayden, the latter occupied his chair on the faculty until the day of his death. The President realized that if higher education were to be effective many controversial subjects could not be avoided by the instructoral force. He asked his faculty when presenting controversial matter to be open-minded and forthright; to present the many sides of such material and to leave to the student the decision as to which he wished to embrace as his own.

In other ways President Rammelkamp was an inspiration to students and faculty. Throughout the early years of his administration he continued as a teaching member of the faculty. As a teacher he was strict, thorough and just, believing, no doubt, that there is 'no royal road to learning, no primrose path to knowledge.' When the press of administrative duties forced him to lighten the burden he was carrying, he temporarily relinquished his teaching but was loathe to forego historical research of which he was extremely fond. During these later years he continued to inspire everyone in the Illinois College orbit to individual study. It seems almost incredible that, pressed as he was with the multifarious activities of administration, he had time to produce his magnificent *History of Illinois College* and to contribute many articles and reviews to the journals of his profession. He encouraged the faculty to attend the meetings of learned societies of which they were members both by attending meetings of organizations to which he belonged and by inducing the trustees to appropriate funds partially to defray the expense of such journeys. He worked

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tirelessly to secure stipends and fellowships for those of the college family who wished to do advanced study and was generous in making leave of absence possible to faculty. Nor did he fail to commend privately and publicly those members of the faculty and the alumni body whose work away from the campus merited recognition. Small wonder, then, that in such an atmosphere a wholesome, serious attitude towards study was engendered.

President Rammelkamp stood as an unrivalled mentor to students and alumni at Illinois College, always reminding them of the fact that the educational process was a continuous one not ending when a degree was awarded. Each year, he spent many pleasant hours in consultation with students. He felt that all problems were capable of some satisfactory solution if a trained and disciplined mind considered all of their ramifications. Daily, his correspondence carried letters to alumni pointing out to them an approach to the solution of some problem for which his assistance had been asked. Gradually, wherever it was possible, throughout the nation, he encouraged the organization of alumni associations and was a faithful attendant at their formal annual meetings. Largely through his efforts the alumni published a quarterly which brought not only news of the campus and of former friends at the college but materials of real educational worth to the student who had passed through the college gates. It was this deep human interest in the individual and his problem that has led many students and alumni to remark that Charles Henry Rammelkamp and Illinois College were synonymous.

During the post war years, when higher education had acquired many of the attributes of a large scale industry, President Rammelkamp never wavered in his loyalty to the ideal of the small liberal arts college. As he travelled about he perceived with a discerning intellect that the large university with its thousands of students was losing a prime

fundamental—simplicity and individuality. As the curriculum in certain institutions was expanded and took on a 'bargain-counter' appearance, President Rammelkamp's allegiance to the older discipline remained firm. When any friend of the college wished either 'bargain-counter' courses or methods introduced at Illinois College he was shown with quiet tact that the President believed the college could best serve its purpose by educating persons in the simple fundamentals for as he remarked, "A disciplined mind will adapt itself to circumstances as it finds them." He stated his feelings clearly in his annual report of 1931, thus: "Illinois College should keep informed regarding these movements (the changes and criticisms of modern education) which are stirring in the educational world, and be ready to adopt or adapt them so far as they approve themselves to our judgment. It is very interesting to observe that many of the changes which are now being introduced into the larger universities, are only efforts to accomplish what the colleges, at least those with good equipment and high standards, are already achieving. The efforts of the larger institutions to break themselves up into smaller residential and educational units, is only a recognition of the difficulties and disadvantages of mass education on the collegiate level. People have found in many of our smaller colleges for years what the universities at great expense, are now trying to introduce. I am more convinced than ever that if an institution like Illinois College has a special mission in the educational world, it is in the maintenance of that cultural ideal that has stood the test of the centuries."

As the years wore on President Rammelkamp indelibly stamped Illinois College with the character described in the foregoing statement. Those who were intimate with the college's affairs more and more realized the tremendous work he had done. Such recognition as the college family gave him was to be expected; but recognition also came from out-

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side the college walls. Mr. Rammelkamp insisted that Illinois College should take its place and do its share towards the furtherance of higher standards in education through an active membership in the North Central Association, the Federation of Illinois Colleges and like organizations. These in turn realized his true worth. From 1909 to 1911 he served as President of the Federation. His name appeared amongst the members of many prominent committees in the North Central Association. When the University of Illinois was welcoming its third president since Mr. Rammelkamp had assumed leadership at Illinois College, he was chosen as the speaker to welcome Mr. Chase to the University on behalf of the Colleges of Illinois. At this time, the University conferred on Mr. Rammelkamp an LL.D. in recognition of his sterling qualities as an educator. When Illinois College celebrated its centennial, educators gathered from all over the United States to do honor to the work he had wrought. Finally, just as his life was closing, a last seal of approval was given his work when a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, a goal towards which he had striven for many years, was established at Illinois College. Indubitably, in the future, a building will be erected on the campus named for President Rammelkamp; a professorship, scholarships and prizes may bear his name. These will bear testimony to the usefulness of his life. But the highest tribute of all is the simple fact that he assumed the Presidency of 'Old Illinois' when the institution was in dire distress, refurbished her, rejuvenated her spirit and left her a vital force in the educational world.

III.

RAMMELKAMP AND HIS BOARD OF TRUSTEES

BY CARL E. BLACK

Charles Henry Rammelkamp came to Illinois College (1902) as an unassuming but efficient professor of history. He says in his "Centennial History" of the college: "I must confess that it was for me a new experience. In many ways I was unprepared to teach in such a college, but fortunately I was young and willing to learn." In these sentences he summed up the major characteristics of the future President of Illinois College. He "was young and willing to learn." This unassuming attitude and his willingness to learn always remained the dominating features of success. At the time he came to Illinois College he little dreamed that he was so soon (1905) to be called to its Presidency.

"The history of Illinois College had been one long succession of financial crises" and it was in the midst of one of these that he was selected as its President. During the year preceding his selection the college had a deficit of nearly \$8000.00 and an accumulated debt of over \$36,000.00. Its real endowment was probably not more than \$155,000.00 although it appeared on the books as \$228,000.00. As to the curriculum he says, "I certainly should be sorry to have my ideas on educational policies judged by some of the things which dire necessity compelled us to do in those trying years." Such, in brief, was the situation which confronted the young President.

While his major personal and professional interests were in history and in education he was now confronted with the whole problem of how to convert a poor and struggling institution into a real college.

It is true that the college had a good history. Strong and efficient men had preceded him. Well known and illustrious alumni of whom the college had reason to be proud,

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were scattered over the country. There were buildings which could be made to answer the purpose. He was not carried away by the desire for brick and mortar but had clearly in mind that the faculty made a college, and to have a real faculty the college must have a sufficient income to pay living salaries. The salary of a full professor at this time was only \$1,200.00 per year. He studied and recognized the existing conditions. He never deceived himself as to the facts. It was just a problem to be solved—a problem for him to solve.

The trustees had selected him and from that day his whole interest must be in his Board of Trustees. He "was willing to learn" and one of the first things he must learn was how to manage a board of trustees, for that must be the corner stone on which future success would rest. The problems belonged to the Board of Trustees and he was selected as their agent to solve them. His friends were to discover that he was not only a teacher of history but that he was a many-sided man with a minimum of weaknesses and a maximum of strength. His native modesty prevented him from ever expressing this idea but little by little he was to impress it on his Board of Trustees as well as on the faculty, the alumni, and the friends of Illinois College.

He entered upon his new task with the same quiet, painstaking, unassuming spirit which he would have applied to a problem in historical research. In fact from his point of view it was an historical problem. He must know the history of the college, the history of the community and the history of the State, to find the solution. He first acquainted himself with the existing factors and then slowly and with patient thoroughness sought new ones.

His methods were interesting. He first studied his problem as carefully as possible. He then made opportunity to talk to others about it. In this way he accumulated new facts, and new and varied opinions. He had the greatest

respect for the advice and the ideas of others. In his Board of Trustees he carefully set up his several committees which he made real working units. Then he brought his plans to the appropriate committee. He had no figurehead committees. By this plan he always cemented to his proposals five or seven members of his Board of Trustees. Or if the committee could not support his proposal it was dropped for the time. He never tried to force any plan on his Board of Trustees until he was sure of it himself, and had the proper committee behind it. His methods were always simple, direct and complete. He was willing and anxious to learn and had unlimited patience in placing all his plans before his committees and his board.

He made exhaustive studies of other colleges and their methods and in his presentations and recommendations was always fortified by a mass of information which was convincing. In this way he soon built up one of the smoothest practical college machines. His trustees had complete confidence in him and knew that he desired them to know every detail before they acted. It was a laborious method. Of himself he was exacting to a degree rarely seen in administrators, but it was a method which was bound to succeed.

It occasionally happened that he flatly disagreed with his board. At such times, which were few indeed, he stood up boldly and positively for what he knew to be the right position and either convinced his board or asked that action be postponed until he secured further information. But the temper of the situation was always kept carefully in hand.

There were no dissensions in his Board of Trustees. His method made that impossible. Without saying so, he set out to educate his board as to the needs of the college and the best way to supply these needs.

The writer was the chairman of two important college committees during the greater part of his administration and can speak from long experience of the patience, the

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tact and the thoroughness used in the development of Illinois College. He made the consideration of college problems a pleasure. We were all glad to have him come to us with his plans and he always left us with our interest renewed. He made membership on the board a pleasure and a privilege. All knew that he appreciated our suggestions and that he placed his own ideas completely before us for our honest criticism. The writer can only recall two occasions on which his board did not adopt his suggestions. The relations he established and maintained were delightful. He was so generous and so patient that support naturally flowed from his board to him.

He never spoke harshly of any man or of any man's ideas. The most the writer ever heard him say was, "I do not care for that plan," or, "I do not care for that man." Such things were always said in the most considerate and kindly way. No one valued the truth and the facts more highly than he did.

After Charles Rammelkamp had developed and accepted a policy he was constant in its support. He was never guilty of a vacillating attitude and never indulged in short cuts to success. This is fully illustrated by two policies. The first was the educational policy. He thoroughly believed that the college should have a curriculum made up of the fundamental branches of education and he was never turned aside by those minor and external branches so often put out by colleges to catch the student who sought a short and easy path to a degree. A liberal arts college, unhampered by purely "training courses," was his ideal.

The success with which this policy was followed is nowhere better illustrated than by the final selection of Illinois College for a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Only one other college and three universities in Illinois have achieved this recognition of their educational standards. He put

scholarship above everything else and he led his trustees to have full faith in this policy.

His second great policy was that of providing adequate endowment. While many sister colleges were seeking new buildings and more complete and modern equipment, he saw clearly that the quality of education depended first on the quality of its faculty. He saw that the only way to secure the kind of a faculty which his ideal college should have, was to be able to pay adequate salaries. To pay desirable salaries the college must have sufficient endowment. Many friends who saw other institutions erecting new and beautiful buildings were sometimes a bit impatient with him. But always in the most kindly and sympathetic spirit he pointed out that new buildings meant new expenses, and that the college must first have productive endowment in order to pay better salaries to its faculty and to be able to balance its budget. Then new buildings would come and could be properly maintained.

His first problem in assuming the Presidency was to clear up the accumulated indebtedness, and from that time on to so arrange his budget that it would balance. It is rare for an educator to have so complete a grasp of college finances. He was not afraid of details. He made every problem of the college his problem.

He made it his daily business to know where every college dollar came from and where it went. He gave the finances his constant attention, not because he had ambitions to become a financier but because it was the only way to keep the college on a firm educational and financial basis. It was the only way to build the kind of an educational institution which he so much desired. In education he followed the dictum of Huxley who said, "Every problem is ultimately a financial one."

He fully appreciated the value of the alumni in the success of the college and although the college was more than

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seventy-five years old when he assumed its Presidency he made it his business to get acquainted with every alumnus and to reestablish their active interest in the college. He realized the claim the college had on them. He organized them into active associations and almost always attended their annual meetings so that he could explain to them first-hand the condition of the college, its needs and its objectives. They were drawn into financial as well as spiritual interest in the college. Next to his Board of Trustees he was always anxious to have the friendly understanding and support of the alumni. He left the college with a body of alumni fully informed and constantly active in the support of the institution. But his conference with alumni and his attendance upon their meeting had another purpose. Their actions and attitude regarding the college was always carefully reported to his Board of Trustees and to his faculty and student body. Thus all factors were moulded into a great body of active supporters.

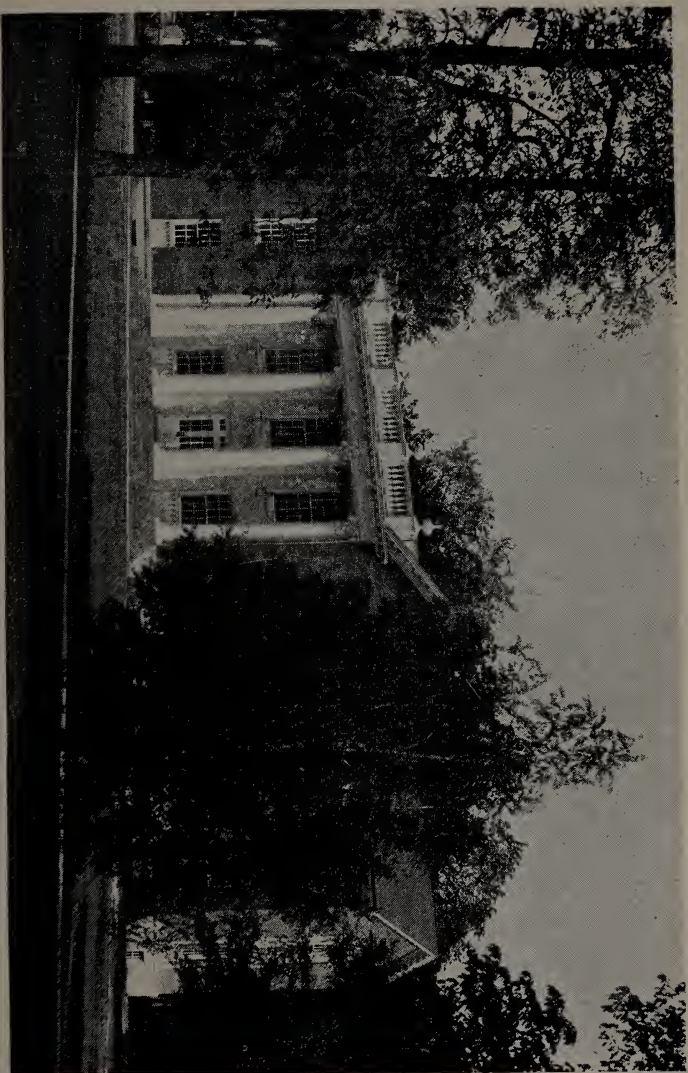
No man could have had a more intelligent and far-seeing grasp of the factors necessary to success. His capacity for constant attention to every detail was enormous. As fast as one plan matured others were forthcoming but he never allowed two plans to clash with each other and he never undertook what could not be accomplished. As soon as the college had a sufficient endowment to place it on a firm educational and business basis he turned his attention to buildings. Tanner Memorial Library and Baxter Hall soon followed. Grounds were secured for an athletic field and a new gymnasium, and for a new building for women.

Perhaps the worldly minded would not have called him a brilliant man but that is only a matter of definition. Men are ultimately judged by their accomplishments. He was a man who accomplished results. He knew what a small college should be and he set out carefully, thoughtfully and courageously to make Illinois College that kind of a college.

While this presentation is confined to his work with his Board of Trustees it would be far from the truth to assume that this was his whole career. Others will present different aspects of this many-sided man—his relation to the field of education, his relation to his faculty, his relation to the alumni, and his relation to the community.

We might briefly summarize Charles H. Rammelkamp's characteristics and qualities as judged by his relations to his Board of Trustees as beginning with his own statement of being "willing to learn." He did learn thoroughly and well but while learning he was always a teacher. His board soon learned that he was studious, careful, patient, consistent, tactful, cheerful and persistent. They learned that when he brought a proposition to them he already had it well in hand and was ready with all the details relating to it. They learned that he already had the favorable consideration of the proper committee and that the reasons for the judgment he expressed were fully in hand. They soon learned that he would present the matter from all angles and was ready and anxious to answer questions. No man could have had the confidence of his board more fully than he. It was a delightful and inspiring association. He was a great administrator and every member of his board was his friend. In fact during the major part of his career as President, his Board of Trustees sat at his feet, they the pupils and he the master.

It is a great thing to have a friend. It is a sad thing to lose a friend. Real friendship is the most beautiful of all human relations. Charles Henry Rammelkamp was my friend. Students, faculty, alumni, trustees and neighbors, all proclaim Charles Henry Rammelkamp their friend. "You can lose a man like that by your own death but not by his."



TANNER MEMORIAL LIBRARY: ILLINOIS COLLEGE

THE CITIZEN

IV.

THE CITIZEN

BY FRANK J. HEINL

Charles Henry Rammelkamp came to Jacksonville in 1902 as Professor of History in Illinois College, a stranger to the town. Three years later, he became President of the college. He married Miss Rhoda Jeanette Capps, member of a family conspicuous in the civic and business life of Jacksonville since 1839.

A student of history, head of a college with historic traditions in a town of much historic background, and connected through marriage with a Jacksonville family so long associated in the life of the community, he quite naturally became interested in civic affairs.

A modest man not given to show or blowing his own horn, he made acquaintances outside his college circle rather slowly. His earlier years in Jacksonville were so filled that he had little time for anything but his college duties. In time, however, his college burdens lightened and he was able to devote more time to outside activities and historical studies. And by that time, his executive capacity and character had won him high place in the esteem of his fellow citizens of Jacksonville.

Notwithstanding his occupation with college matters, he found time for civic affairs from the beginning. My first contacts with him in public affairs came while I was a member of the General Assembly, in 1905. At the time, the local option issue was outstanding in Illinois. President Rammelkamp's experience in his own and other colleges and his acquaintance with local eleemosynary institutions made him a zealous supporter of anti-saloon legislation. He was also attentive to educational legislation and particularly to the outlawing of diploma mills.

The Morgan County Historical Society was organized largely through his efforts, in 1906. He served as a director until his death, several years as president, and was always its guiding hand. He gave much attention to the local celebrations of the Illinois Centennial, in 1918, and the Jacksonville Centennial, in 1925.

Illinois College from its founding has been diligent in educational, religious, economic, and social movements in Illinois and Jacksonville. It pioneered in the cause of popular and higher education. On its campus was organized the first state-wide teachers' association. Its faculty edited the first educational journal in Illinois. One of its faculty, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, was an outstanding advocate in our country for popular agricultural and industrial education and chief promoter of the Federal legislation which provided the states with their land-grant colleges. Citizens of Jacksonville were protagonists in the anti-slavery movement. Its citizens have been zealous in the cause of temperance and it was the first city in the State to vote out saloons under the Anti-Saloon Law. The town had the first railroad in Illinois. It is the seat of the State's oldest educational and charitable institutions. It has pioneered in municipal improvements. Its county still retains the county form of government which most counties abandoned and are now awakening to their mistake. Politically, the community often has been out of step with the majority. It gave Stephen Arnold Douglas his first elective office. It furnished candidates for the Liberty and Free Soil parties. For more than a decade, it was in the only Whig congressional district in Illinois, the district which sent Stuart, Hardin, Baker, and Lincoln, in turn, to Congress, and later, Richard Yates, first graduate of Illinois College. Its congressman, Hardin, was the first from Illinois in the Congress to vote against the slave power.

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President Rammelkamp adopted the traditions of his college and its community. In him the devotion, self-sacrifice and high ideals of Julian Monson Sturtevant, long-time president of the college, and other members of the Yale Band, who came into the Far West to advance civilization and help erect a mighty commonwealth on the prairies, blossomed forth. In him, the unyielding devotion to principles of Edward Beecher, the first president of Illinois College, lived again. In him, Jonathan Baldwin Turner's broad educational viewpoint had a rebirth. In him, the political independence of the pioneers of Jacksonville found a champion and their civic ideals a new expression. He fitted his college and community as to the manner born.

The attitude of Illinois College towards the public schools, both state and local, has always been misunderstood by many. From its founding, in 1829, the members of its faculty have labored for efficient public schools. For a quarter of a century, they were leaders in the movement for popular education. They secured good elementary schools for Jacksonville at an early date. President Rammelkamp's efforts as to popular education were mainly to strengthen the English courses in our elementary and high schools and to prevent the turning out of unqualified teachers by state schools and inferior private institutions.

In the years just prior to the World War, Doctor Rammelkamp piloted the movement for the erection of a soldiers' and sailors' monument. He served as chairman of the commission created to construct it. The beautiful stone and bronze memorial in the public square in Jacksonville by Leonard Crunelle, pupil of Lorado Taft, is not only a fitting tribute to the soldiers and sailors but also, a testimonial to the artistic appreciation and judgment of Doctor Rammelkamp.

Jacksonville needed a city plan. Doctor Rammelkamp was very zealous in securing it, and after it was adopted and

a zoning board of appeals created, he served as chairman of the board until his death.

For several years he was a director of the local chautauqua—an independent assembly. As such, he stood firmly for the best literary, musical, instructional, and entertainment features obtainable for he insisted it should be primarily educational. Out of it came several valuable community projects.

While his engagements prevented his activity in the local Chamber of Commerce and the town's several social service organizations, he always contributed as liberally as he could to them and their promotions and always found time to complete any task assigned him promptly, thoroughly, and well.

Doctor Rammelkamp became a charter member of the Rotary Club, organized during the World War period. It gave him contacts he had never had before. He thoroughly enjoyed its meetings and associations and entered heartily into its promotions. This club connection proved of great value both to him and the club membership.

Intensely patriotic, Doctor Rammelkamp was greatly disturbed by the World War. An ardent supporter of Woodrow Wilson, he became very active in the support of the Nation as soon as it entered the war. Already, there had been accusations and recriminations, mostly false, and dissension in and around his college to worry him. He had to step slowly and cautiously. Hotheads were brewing trouble and with divergent opinions many of his associates and fellow citizens were slow to declare themselves.

Illinois College has always been patriotic. Six of its men followed Col. John J. Hardin into the Mexican War. In the Civil War it had men under both the blue and the grey. Students, faculty, and former students to the number of 185 were in the Union army, and a large number of them were officers from brigadier generals down. The Confederate

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army drew twelve of its former students. In the Spanish-American War, thirty-three of its men were in service.

When the United States entered the World War, President Rammelkamp's patriotism and his college associates and traditions hastened the college to the support of the government. "Reflecting the attitude of the Middle West from which all of the students and most of the faculty came, the college was at first somewhat conservative on the question of aiding the allies," wrote the President. However, the faculty promptly urged adequate preparation and vigorous action and the trustees as promptly placed the college plant and its facilities at the disposal of the government. With the declaration of war, full credit for the balance of the year was granted students who might enlist. Students and faculty began drilling at once. College programs were changed to meet war-time demands. In due course, a Students' Army Training Corps unit was established at the college and it brought a larger group of students than the college had ever before had. With increased enrollment came housing and other problems. The President was fully occupied. The commanding officer of the unit, "because of his overbearing spirit, not to mention other undesirable qualities, proved utterly unfit for the post," to quote the President. Soon an entirely satisfactory officer replaced the objectionable one, but then the President was kept busy with the increased student body, the securing of slow-coming equipment, the epidemic of influenza, and the protection of the college property. Altogether, over four hundred college men and women, including 118 in the Students' Army Training Corps, joined the colors, and nine of them never came back. The President's interest in his men and women who enlisted is shown by his insistence that detailed records be kept of their every movement. The college's efforts to keep in touch with them by letter is evidenced in Dean Frederick S. Hayden's vast correspondence.

CHARLES HENRY RAMMELKAMP, 1874-1932

Notwithstanding President Rammelkamp's occupation with exacting duties at the college, he served as chairman of the United War Drives in the county and assisted in the Liberty Loan campaigns.

Doctor Rammelkamp was an elder in Westminster Presbyterian Church and a member of several local clubs. For years he labored to secure a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa for his college and finally succeeded, only to pass away the day before the chapter was formally installed.

Doctor Rammelkamp's outstanding trait was, perhaps, his extreme loyalty which found its expression in a rare type of devotion to his country, his family, his college, his community, and his associates and friends. He was unyielding in support of his ideals and principles. He gave his college, his family, his town, his friends the best he had. He was sincere, persevering, patient and thorough. He was a master of detail in his business affairs and in his relations with his student body, faculty, trustees, and the public. During his long service as President, he had no serious difference with student body, faculty, or trustees. While deliberate in reaching conclusions, his judgment won confidence. The administrative and financial ability he displayed in college affairs won him such high place in his community that he was always consulted in local civic movements.

Among his outstanding traits were his scholarly attainments. To himself he was above all else an historian and ever looked forward to a period when his other duties would permit him to devote more time to historical projects.

HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND INTERESTS

V.

HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND INTERESTS

BY CLARENCE E. CARTER

The writer of this commemorative essay was an undergraduate in Illinois College when Dr. Charles Henry Rammelkamp was elected to the Presidency of the college. At that time the new President had already served nearly three years as Professor of History in the same institution. He had but recently come from an instructorship in history at Stanford University, and his graduate work at Cornell University and at the University of Berlin was but a short time back. The writer believes that he was a member of the first class in Illinois College which Professor Rammelkamp met in the autumn of 1902, and his recollection of that first session is vivid. The new Professor impressed himself at once upon his students as an inspiring teacher as well as an exacting taskmaster. His scientific training in his chosen field of history and the possession of a rich cultural background, acquired through extensive travels in Europe and contact with the great masters of that day, were assets of incalculable value to a comparatively small body of undergraduates. Yet, the possessor of this training and of these gifts was not given in the remotest way to that practice of "salesmanship" so characteristic of many young professors of that day and this. And so it was left for his student friends and colleagues to ascertain from other sources his ambition for research and writing, and to discover that already he was in the midst of productive scholarship.

When, therefore, he was elected President of the college in 1905, his friends had great misgivings, not that he would not become a great college president, but that in becoming such his real life ambition would inevitably be thrust aside. That such a notion was illusory is clear from a survey of

his contributions in the field of history subsequent to that time. Although the multiplicity of duties and responsibilities incident to his new office and to the many civic enterprises to which he freely gave his time naturally precluded that continuous application to research and writing which the holding of a professorship only would have made possible, the amount and serious character of his productive work during the years of his Presidency is amazing.

Dr. Rammelkamp's earliest contributions to history were in the field of American politics. In a valuable study published in 1904¹ he unravelled the tangled skein of politics at the end of that confused "era of good feeling," in 1822-1824, with special reference to the presidential campaign of 1824 in the State of New York. In this essay extensive use was made of newspaper files in Albany and New York City, and the footnotes further indicate a thorough examination of Assembly records, the Van Buren manuscripts in the Library of Congress, and other documents of similar character. The study is thoroughly documented, and there is throughout a discriminating selection of materials. Out of the tangled mass of factions and seemingly contradictory purposes the author brought into clear perspective the rising tide of popular revolt against the legislative caucus, which resulted in the establishment of the nominating convention as a method of making state nominations. Contemporaneously he pioneered a new domain, the result of which was an essay, in 1905, on contested congressional elections,—a study which has not been superseded.² The results of a close scrutiny of hundreds of contested elections, which involved the sifting of a multiplicity of documentary sources, are set forth, and certain relevant questions raised in regard to the constitutional system so far as it concerned the rules

¹"The Campaign of 1824 in New York," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1904* (Washington, 1905), pp. 175-201.

²"Contested Congressional Elections," *Political Science Quarterly*, XX, 421-442.

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of the legislative branch. His long study of the political institutions of Great Britain, where contested elections were referred to the courts for adjudication, led him to suggest a similar practice for the United States.

With the assumption of his duties as a college president came a turning point in Dr. Rammelkamp's historical study. Recognizing the practical value as well as the attractive interest of the subject, he began the collecting of materials on the history of the college over which he presided. By-products of his study began to appear as early as 1908 with the publication of an essay on the connection of Illinois College and the anti-slavery movement,³ which was followed by a more detailed treatment of the same subject some years later.⁴ The connection of a typical mid-western college with the great political and moral issues of the times is delineated with sympathy, but always with scientific precision. At the same time he was digging into new leads: and we have a well-balanced account of the mid-nineteenth century conflict between religious fundamentalism and modernism, as it was related to the colleges of that day.⁵ The appearance of this study was coincident with the rise of a similar struggle in more recent years. The zeal for truth so characteristic of the subject of this sketch is nowhere better exhibited than in these articles; the calmness and fairness with which those earlier conflicts are portrayed, and the recognition that there were two sides to each question are clearly evident.

But the most significant product of President Rammelkamp's researches emerged with the publication in 1928 of

³"Illinois College and the Anti-Slavery Movement," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1908*, pp. 192-203.

⁴"The Reverberations of the Slavery Conflict in a Pioneer College," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (March, 1928), 447-461.

⁵"Fundamentalism and Modernism in a Pioneer College," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXI (October, 1928), 395-408. For other articles, see bibliography at the end of this paper.

Illinois College: A Centennial History.⁶ This is a book that immediately challenged attention and admiration. It is not a history of a college only; it is a contribution to the history of higher education in Illinois and the Middle West. It touches, moreover, far more than education. The crude society of the western frontier of a century ago, gradually raised through succeeding years to the level of the more cultivated society of older regions, is depicted in a realistic manner. The life history of Illinois College was tangent at many points to current political, economic and religious issues, a fact recognized and clearly portrayed. Although the history of the college is everywhere interwoven with contemporary affairs, sight of the institution itself as the main theme is never obscured; it is ever distinctly projected against the background of issues and events of a century of time.

The work is not that of the press agent, as is so often true of the so-called histories of educational institutions, nor that of the educational faddist, seeking in the end to prove some theory. On the contrary, it is a history in the true sense, written in the spirit and method of a trained investigator. The author's official connection with the college, extending over more than a quarter of a century, did not blind him. He was tempted neither to eulogize nor to condemn, but to tell the truth as he found it. His administrative experience, in fact, was a distinct asset in that it enabled him to discuss certain problems with an understanding which an investigator looking in from the outside would not have possessed. To those who understand the numerous pitfalls involved in reconstructing the history of an age or an institution, it is an achievement to have broken so much new ground and to have produced so meritorious a book. In the history of an institution there is at times a large mass of raw materials in the shape of letters, records, memoirs, newspapers and oral

⁶*Illinois College: A Centennial History*, The Yale Press, New Haven, 1928.

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tradition. At other times the sources are scant. Both conditions were met with here, and it is difficult to say which offers the more serious problem for the historian. In any event the delver after truth is compelled to accept some sources and to reject others; to combine and interpret; to subject some phases and amplify others in order to present a true and well-proportioned picture. All these problems the author met and solved. Every fact is attested, finally, by those silent witnesses called documents.

The nature of the documentary and other sources which form the basis of this work will be seen by turning to the classified bibliography at the end of the volume, and by observing the citations which appear on every page. The most important sources, many of which have not been used heretofore, include the correspondence of Julian M. Sturtevant and Theron Baldwin, extending from 1828 to the death of the latter in 1870. Again and again this great reservoir of material so important for the history of higher education throughout all the Middle West, has been drawn upon for information. The letters of Jonathan B. Turner, an early and prominent member of the faculty and subsequently a founder of the University of Illinois, and many miscellaneous letters of members of the Yale Band, the faculty and Board of Trustees represent supplementary material of great importance. The minute books of the faculty and Board of Trustees, the literary societies and the alumni association are also among the important sources. Much printed material was likewise assembled, five pages of the bibliography being devoted to a list of printed works consulted in the preparation of the history. This type of source is of wide variety and of varying importance. Among those which seem to have been most relevant are the college, alumni and literary society catalogues, the files of the *College Rambler* (the student publication), the *Jacksonville Journal* and other newspapers, the various church publica-

tions, biographies, autobiographies, works of reminiscence, pamphlets, sermons, addresses on notable occasions and monographs.

A condensation of the book's contents is fraught with the possible unhappy result that what the reviewer deems of most importance may lead to the omission of other aspects which are in reality of equal or greater significance. Yet he cannot deny himself the privilege of recounting what he considers to be the more salient features. The founding of Illinois College as a missionary enterprise resulted from the merger of two movements; one headed by the Reverend John M. Ellis and Thomas Lippincott, both of whom were in the frontier State of Illinois in 1828; and the other initiated by the well-known Yale Band. How the college came to be located in Jacksonville is a fascinating chapter in the history. Still more interesting is the account of the manner in which the attention of the young men of Yale was directed to the effort being made to establish a college in this far-off State of Illinois. The ensuing negotiations between the men of the East and those of the West; the formation of the "compact," the commission of the first teacher, in the person of the Reverend Julian M. Sturtevant; raising the first funds, already begun in Illinois before Mr. Sturtevant's arrival; the erection of the first college building, now Beecher Hall; and holding of the first classes in 1829 are recounted. The heroism, zeal and self-sacrifice of these early educational pioneers we find portrayed in minute detail, although the narrative is at no point beclouded by these minutae. This portion of the history has been told before, but never in the same setting, nor with such rich profuseness.

These two chapters are but preparatory. There follows, in twelve chapters, a treatment of the successive administrations of Beecher, Sturtevant, Crampton, Tanner, Bradley, Churchill, Barnes and Rammelkamp. Here it may be suggested that few colleges can point to such a record of ad-

ministrative tenure. In one hundred years Illinois College has had but six Presidents, and two acting Presidents (Crampton and Churchill) for brief tenures. This may account, in part, for the fact that there had been on the whole a continuity of policy through all the years. The exceptions to this tendency, as is clearly demonstrated in this work, have had little ultimate effect. Changes came to be sure, but they resulted from the necessity of adjusting the work of the college to the needs of the day, and in a very few instances to a change of administration.

The selection of Reverend Edward Beecher as the first President of the college and the enlargement of the faculty by the addition of Professors Post, Adams and Turner, and the procurement of the charter from the state legislature completed the organization of the college. Providing for its financial support was another, and a graver task. If there is one theme running throughout this history more persistently than another, it is the constant struggle for existence. Located in a frontier State, in the debtor section of the Nation, it was inevitable that this college, as well as every similar institution, should suffer. One cannot be surprised at this phenomenon. At the present day new colleges usually begin with liberal endowments, or with state support, and consequently a certain kind of success may be anticipated. But in the frontier days no institutions and only a few individuals were "endowed" at the outset. The author frequently uses the expression "attempting to make bricks without straw." This seems to have characterized the entire life of the college until very recent years. The story as President Rammelkamp unfolds it is filled with pathos, even with tragedy, at times. In the midst of such adversities as are recounted the college must have collapsed but for the zeal and untiring patience of successive presidents, faculties and Boards of Trustees.

The connection of Illinois College with national affairs in the ante-bellum period is given a well-deserved emphasis. The outspoken position of the faculty on the slavery issue attracted much attention throughout the West. President Beecher's relations with Lovejoy, whose martyrdom is a matter of history, and the close personal contact between President Sturtevant and Abraham Lincoln, who sent the former on a mission to England during the Civil War, are facts about which the present generation will not have been wholly aware.

There passes in review in this book not only the successive changes in the administration of the college and the problems of financial support, but every significant phase in the internal development of the institution. The gradual transformation in the personnel of the faculty and of the Board of Trustees, changes in entrance requirements and in the curriculum, religious controversies and student conduct receive full treatment in the administration of each president. The rise and development of the literary societies, which still survive, never having been displaced by fraternities, is carefully detailed. During the last fifty years new interests and new problems arose, and so we find appropriate space given to the rise of intercollegiate debate and to musical and dramatic activities. College journalism and other literary interests are featured as they emerge. The development of athletics, collegiate and intercollegiate, occupies a surprisingly large space in the author's delineation of recent years,—though not too much in view of the prominence which physical training has come to occupy in the modern college. The reader can have only admiration for the sympathy and knowledge which Dr. Rammelkamp displays in his treatment of this still parlous topic in modern educational development.

What was probably the most important change in the internal policy of the college in the last quarter-century was

the decision to make Illinois College co-educational, a decision which met with much disapproval at the time on the part of many hitherto warm friends and alumni. The author discusses this vexed question without partisanship, and discloses facts which should convince any doubters, if there should be such today, that the college must have closed its doors had such action not been taken.

President Rammelkamp throws a brilliant light on many dark places. Facts hitherto unknown or misunderstood are brought forth and portrayed with a sure hand. If there is anything of moment or interest that he fails to note it does not occur to this writer. Even such minutae as the appearance of bogus programs and the Billy Sunday revival are fitted into his narrative in their right relations to the whole. The problem of treatment necessarily involved some repetition. It is no easy task to classify all the facts, stubborn facts they often prove to be, in their relations to each other, and at the same time to preserve the unity of the whole theme. Yet this feat was accomplished. The temptation, moreover, to huddle the narrative at its close has been avoided. The last decade, is, indeed, covered with all the authoritative copiousness of material to be found in preceding periods. The narrative broadens and strengthens as it progresses, and fully justifies a claim to the leading position among educational histories. Although he describes events which he himself had a large part in shaping, the trees are not allowed to obscure the forest.

A well known authority on the political and social history of the United States, in reviewing the volume, wrote: "Dr. Rammelkamp has long been one of the patrons and sponsors of the local history of his state, as well as an aggressive, though modest, educator. He has long realized the more than local importance of the history of the institution over which he presides . . . [He] has successfully exploited the archives of the college and other available material . . .

The cause of education and history is rendered an important service by such a study."⁷

In the new *Dictionary of American Biography* there appear three articles initialed by President Rammelkamp, on the lives of Theron Baldwin, Edward Beecher and John E. Bradley.⁸ Baldwin was a pioneer western missionary, a co-founder of Illinois College, a founder of Monticello Seminary, and was instrumental in securing from the legislature of Illinois (1835) a charter under which the three oldest colleges of the State are still operating. He was subsequently corresponding secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education, which had a leading part in the development of higher education throughout the Middle West. Beecher was the first President of Illinois College. Bradley was President of the same college from 1892-1900, and was a leader in the development of the modern public school system in the United States.

It remains to be added that Dr. Rammelkamp's contributions to history were not confined to research and writing. His deep devotion to the subject, combined with his administrative ability, drew him into positions in which his scholarly viewpoint and rare wisdom in the shaping of constructive policies were of great service to the historical interests of the State. For many years he was a Trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, a Director of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a founder and one time president of the Morgan County Historical Society. His continued interest in history is further manifested by active membership in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association. His signed reviews of works on New York state history and on educational history are to be found in the *Journals* of these asso-

⁷Professor Arthur C. Cole, in *American Historical Review*, XXXV, 184-185.

⁸*Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 547, II, 128-129, 570-571.

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ciations.⁹ His official connections with the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois State Historical Library prompted him to make a thorough study of the problem of legislation for archives and on the technical problem of archive administration. The results of his study of this highly technical branch of historical science are embodied in a paper published in the annual reports of the American Historical Association.¹⁰

In this paper he dealt with the fundamental laws that are necessary for the archivist and for the preservation of archives, and he reviewed the legislation enacted in the various States since 1901. In 1910 he was an accredited delegate from the Illinois State Historical Library to the seventh annual conference of American Historical Societies at Indianapolis. His time and service and knowledge were freely and continuously given to the State of Illinois in connection with the development of a means for the preservation and administration of its archives.

This inadequate review of President Rammelkamp's contributions to history would be more incomplete without again recurring to the phase of his career which was suggested at the beginning of this essay,—an ability to stimulate in his students a zeal for the serious study of history. It was not only a recognition of his great learning; not only his class-room lectures, models of diction as they were, which attracted students to his courses. It was equally his illuminating observations, analyses and questions, and the high standards he fixed for achievement which quickly established his local fame as a REAL PROFESSOR. More than these factors, even, was the possession of that indefinable quality called personality which contributed largely towards imparting to his students an ambition for achieve-

⁹See bibliography.

¹⁰"Legislation for Archives," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1914* (Washington, 1916), I, 361-369, 373.

ment in historical scholarship. He soon began sending candidates for admission to some of the best graduate schools in the Nation,—to Chicago, Wisconsin, Illinois, Harvard, and Yale, where they were accepted without question. Although confronted, in those years, with the relatively inadequate library facilities of a small college, he was able to equip such candidates with sufficient training to enable them to compete successfully in the graduate schools with those who had pursued their undergraduate studies in the large universities. And his interest in the work of his former students did not cease at that point. Probably the most prized possessions of many of these men and women are his letters of advice and encouragement, in after years, in connection with their chosen profession of history. His contribution to history, then, was more than original research and publication on his own account: the provocation of the spirit of creative scholarship in others will probably be the greatest ultimate contribution of Charles Henry Rammelkamp to history.

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CAIRO AND THE NEWS OF LINCOLN'S DEATH

The Cairo *Citizen* of July 5, 1932, contains the following interesting account of the reception in that city of the news of Lincoln's death. The author is M. J. Howley:

"Some months ago I had a short visit from an eminent jurist attached to the University of Illinois. Formerly, he served as a judge of the circuit court of his judicial district and frequently presided in the circuit court of Alexander County. In this way he had become acquainted with nearly all the prominent citizens of Cairo. The judge always liked our city and was ever pleased to hear it well spoken of. He told me that on one occasion he was in a Central Illinois town and while there he met a group of gentlemen who were discussing the career of President Lincoln. One of the party repeated a story that he said was published in one of the two hundred or more books in existence treating of the life and career of Lincoln. In this story it was related that when the news of the assassination of President Lincoln reached Cairo, the citizens rejoiced over the tragedy, as they strongly sympathized with the cause of the South. The judge asked me if I had any information on the subject. I told him I was a schoolboy living in Cairo at the time, and I remembered the scenes that took place when the sad news of the assassination was received. Also that I had scrap-book accounts of the receipt of the news and of the expressions of the people of Cairo at the time.

"I quote from two Cairo papers published at that period which verify my recollection of the grief exhibited by the citizens of Cairo, the method of showing that their sorrow

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was sincere. The *Evening War Eagle*, a small Republican paper, which confined its columns almost entirely to war news, said: 'On April 15th, 1865, news was published of the assassination of President Lincoln by J. W. Booth, a Southern sympathizer. A public meeting of citizens of Cairo was held at noon at which suitable resolutions were adopted. Major General Banks delivered an address. The entire city was in mourning.'

"On April 19th funeral services were held in Washington. In Cairo memorial services were held simultaneously in some of the churches. The 42nd Wisconsin regiment, which was quartered in Cairo, marched through the streets with muffled drums and reversed arms, and on their return listened to a sermon from their chaplain. The Arab and Rough and Ready Fire companies marched to the Episcopal church on Fourteenth street where they attended services.

"The columns of the *Cairo Weekly Democrat* of April 20th were in mourning over the sad news of the assassination of the President, which occurred on Friday evening, April 14th. The President was attending a play in Ford's theatre in Washington when he was shot by J. Wilkes Booth, a celebrated actor. The news reached Cairo early Saturday morning that the President died at 7:20 A. M.

"The *Democrat* said: "The unwelcome tidings came upon the people with crushing weight. Every public building, place of business, nearly every dwelling were shrouded in the habiliments of mourning. Flags were lowered at half mast upon every public building and upon all boats in port; and nearly every bell in the city was tolled. Houses were festooned in crepe betokening the affluent, and through every grade of society down to the glassless windows of the home of poverty were to be seen emblems of mourning.

"A mass meeting was called for 12 o'clock, noon, on the Ohio levee in front of Post headquarters. General Banks being in the city, was invited by a committee of citizens and

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officers of the government to address the meeting. He responded in an appropriate and eloquent address. The general had engaged passage on a steamboat going south early Saturday but the trip was delayed at his request until after the meeting of citizens'."

THE ORIGIN OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR

During the year 1850 a Masonic lodge was organized and chartered in Toulon, the county seat of Stark County, Illinois. The Masons of Wyoming, Illinois, and vicinity, became members of the Toulon lodge. During the year 1866 a Masonic lodge was organized and chartered in Wyoming, Illinois, and the Masons of Wyoming and vicinity became members of it. Rev. John W. Agard was elected Worshipful Master. On account of the desire of greater sociability several of the Wyoming Masons, their wives and daughters began to hold meetings at the home of Mr. Agard. These meetings led to the organization of a society which they called the "Wyoming Masonic Family." During a visit in Wyoming of Mr. Robert Morris, a well-versed student of Masonry, and a college classmate of Mr. Agard, it was decided to make the Masonic Family more general. A ritualistic program was devised and the name changed to the "Eastern Star Family." Through the influence of Mr. Morris, Eastern Star Families were organized in several cities and towns in Illinois and other States. At the suggestion of Mr. Morris Grand Chapters were organized in New York and Illinois and some other States and the name changed to the Order of the Eastern Star, and the local societies were named chapters. It has been stated authoritatively that the Eastern Star ritual as devised by Mr. Morris and Mr.

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Agard was financed by members of the Masonic order in Chicago.

Thus it was that the Order of the Eastern Star, now one of the great organizations of the United States, Canada and other countries, originated; its organization was planned, and its ritual conceived, in Wyoming, Stark County, Illinois.

The statements made above are authentic. The information was told to the writer by Mr. George V. Scott, who was one of the members of the Wyoming Masonic Family, and who became well acquainted with Mr. Robert Morris when he visited Rev. John W. Agard, his friend and college classmate. Mr. Agard's home, where the meetings of the Wyoming Masonic Family were held, is still standing at the southwest corner of Williams and Fifth streets. The place ought to be permanently marked as the birthplace of the Order of the Eastern Star.

Wyoming, Illinois.

William R. Sandham.

THE WILLIAMS FAMILY OF PERRY COUNTY

Among the families which have taken an active part in the settlement and development of Perry County is the Williams family.

The Williams family, on the paternal side, is of Welsh descent, William Williams having come to America about 1745 and located first in Virginia, later migrating to South Carolina, where he settled in the Edgefield District.

William Williams had a son, Frederick Williams, born about the time the family came to America. Frederick later became a soldier in the Revolutionary War.

Frederick had a son named William, born April 15, 1774, in Edgefield District, South Carolina.

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On October 21, 1802, William was married to Martha Wells, who was born in Edgefield District, South Carolina, April 28, 1786.

William and Martha (Wells) Williams, together with other members of the family, migrated to Kentucky, being pioneers of that State.

To William and Martha Williams were born eleven children: Elizabeth (Brasher), Simpson, Frederick, Ann (Thompson), Samuel, Richard, William, Mary (Happy), Abner J., Daniel L., and J. Hampton.

Frederick Williams the first died in South Carolina March 18, 1808, the day his grandson and namesake, Frederick Williams the second, was born in Christian County, Kentucky.

In 1827 the eight brothers came to Perry County, Illinois, to look after and improve lands that their father, William Williams, had entered some years before. Liking the country, the brothers remained and settled in Illinois.

On January 17, 1833, Frederick Williams was married to Miss Bexey Orton, a native of Orange County, Indiana, who had come to Perry County with her father, Johnza Orton. To Frederick and Bexey (Orton) Williams were born eight children: Cordelia M. (Lovelady), Harriet Nuel, Christopher C., Desdemonia M. (Campbell), Clarinda I. C. (McKinney), Franklin L., Frederick Augustus, and another son who died in infancy.

Simpson Williams, a bachelor, died at the home of his brother, Frederick.

Samuel, Abner, and William settled near DuQuoin. William and Abner married sisters, the daughters of another pioneer, named Heape.

Later, Samuel, with his wife and children, Luacine, Leonore, Lisadore, Parley L., and Eliza, moved to Utah.

Daniel Williams was married to Miss Alice Tinsley. To them were born two children, Theodore and Margaret.

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J. Hampton Williams settled near Lebanon, Illinois. Richard migrated to Missouri.

Their aged mother, Martha (Wells) Williams, known as "Aunt Patsey," spent her declining years with her children in Perry County, and died at the age of ninety.

Many descendants of the Williams family are living in Perry County and other parts of Southern Illinois at the present time. The oldest member of the family left to bear the name in Perry County is Mr. F. L. Williams of Tamaroa, a son of Frederick Williams.

Some members of Samuel Williams' family are still living in Utah; among them, Mr. Parley L. Williams, who is ninety, and has been a member of the Bar Association for about fifty years. Mr. Parley Williams has older sisters living.

Elsie Williams.

HISTORICAL NEWS

If the plans of the LaSalle County Historical Society mature, an historical museum will be erected at Starved Rock State Park. While the project is yet in the tentative stage, it has been suggested that the building might also serve as an auditorium for conventions and other gatherings held at the park.

Preliminary to an active campaign for the erection of a museum, a committee of the LaSalle County Historical Society is securing pledges of appropriate relics available for display. The committee is composed of J. R. Beffel of the *Ottawa Republican Times*, W. R. Foster, LaSalle County Superintendent of Schools, and C. T. Ward of Lowell.

Prehistoric Indian remains in Carroll County were the subject of a preliminary survey conducted by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago during the summer. Dr. Richard M. Snodgrasse and his assistant, Philleo Nash, spent approximately two weeks in the county examining relics, mounds and other evidences of Indian culture.

Announcement has been made by C. Herrick Hammond, Supervising Architect, that the Illinois Building at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition will contain a room modeled closely as possible after the living room of the Lincoln home at Springfield.

In general style, the Illinois Building will be modernistic. However, Mr. Hammond plans to incorporate the one room out of the past, trimming it in the manner of the

Lincoln home, covering the walls with wall paper of the same design, and furnishing it, if not with the original Lincoln furniture, at least with pieces of the same period.

Adjoining the Lincoln room will be an anteroom where cases of Lincoln relics and documents will be on display.

Over the State various organizations and communities are continuing with the work of marking places of Lincoln interest. On June 1 the Letitia Green Stevenson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a tablet on the McLean County Court House in Bloomington, marking the site where Lincoln is said to have written his famous autobiography for Jesse Fell. The inscription on the tablet reads as follows: "This marks the site of the Courthouse in which Abraham Lincoln, during the winter of 1858-59, at the request of Jesse Fell, wrote the only autobiography of his early life. This brief sketch produced deep public interest in his campaign of 1860, when he was elected President."

On July 11 the Alliance Chapter of the D. A. R. unveiled a tablet at the site where Lincoln spoke in Illinois for the last time. On February 11, 1861, when the special train carrying Lincoln to Washington made its last Illinois stop at Tolono, Lincoln stepped to the platform and spoke three sentences which were to be the last words he ever uttered in his home State. "I'm leaving you on an errand of national importance," Lincoln said, "attendant as you are aware, with considerable difficulties. Let us believe, as some poet has expressed, 'Yet behind the cloud, the sun is still shining.' I bid you an affectionate farewell." The marker, a boulder of red granite, bears a bronze tablet containing these words together with the date on which they were spoken.

The Illinois Art Extension Committee, setting forth on a Lincoln pilgrimage through central Illinois, were inter-

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ested spectators of the unveiling ceremonies. Robert Hieronymus, of Urbana, who originally suggested the marking of the spot, read the inscription, and Clint Clay Tilton of Danville described the day and circumstances which it commemorated. Maj. O. C. Harden, president of the Tolono town board, accepted the marker on behalf of the community.

On September 16 the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company of Fort Wayne, Indiana, unveiled an heroic bronze statue of Lincoln on the plaza of its home office building. The statue is the work of Paulanship, New York sculptor.

Manship's work represents Lincoln at a younger age than that of any other artist. Dressed as a young frontiersman, Lincoln leans against an oak stump, symbolic of his sturdy background. An American hound is resting its nose against his knee, while in his hand he holds a book. The ax of the backwoodsman is in the foreground. The figure of Lincoln stands 12 feet 4 inches in height, and with the pedestal and base the statue will rise 24 feet above the sidewalk.

"The desire to represent the young Lincoln as a dreamer and poet," Mr. Manship said, "rather than as the railsplitter was uppermost in my mind. These qualities were selected as being most important in view of the greatness of Lincoln's later accomplishments and without which the idealism and charity of his future would never have been possible.

"Everyone has heard or read the stories of Lincoln's youthful physical prowess and so we have depicted Lincoln as the brawny youth that he was. The ax tells the story of his railsplitting days. The book symbolizes his intellectual faculties; and the dog reminds us of his exceptional love for animals as well as the greater feeling of human sympathy and protectiveness. His clothes I decided to make to repre-

sent linsey-woolsey homemade shirt, buckskin trousers and boots."

On July 17 the Mueller Company, of Decatur, celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary—a remarkable, though by no means unique, record in the industrial history of Illinois.

The history of the Mueller Company starts with a small machine shop which Hieronymous Mueller established in Decatur in 1857. Born at Wertheim, Germany, Hieronymous Mueller came to the United States in 1849—one of the thousands of emigrants who left the German states as the result of the unsuccessful revolutionary movements of 1848. For eight years he worked in Chicago and neighboring cities. At the age of twenty-five he established his shop in Decatur.

The town was small but it was growing, and Mr. Mueller prospered. His opportunity came with the establishment of a city water works in 1871. Seeing the need for plumbing supplies, he commenced to manufacture them. At the same time he set out to devise better tools than then existed. The first result was the Mueller water main tapping machine, widely used for tapping water mains under pressure. Upon this and later inventions, the foundations of the Mueller Company were laid.

Mr. Mueller loved tools, honored fine craftsmanship, and possessed an alert inquisitiveness along mechanical lines. He became interested in automobiles while they were in their infancy, and had three different cars built under his own supervision. His death came on March 1, 1900, as the result of a gasoline explosion in one of his automobiles. An emigrant boy, he founded a stable business, attained wealth and position, and contributed to the industrial development of the country. In such men Illinois can well take pride.

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It is the melancholy duty of the editor to record the following deaths among the Society's members: George W. Miller, Chicago, January; D. F. Trimmer, Lexington, February; Lucius H. Zeuch, Chicago, March; Charles B. Morrison, Dixon, April; Mrs. Inez J. Bender, Decatur, May 10; J. H. Collins, Springfield, May 21; J. B. Vaughn, Carlinville, July 16.

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THE PRE-HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

By

FAY-COOPER COLE

The pre-history of Illinois and the upper Mississippi Valley has long been shrouded in mystery. For more than a generation interested persons have dug into the mounds left by a pre-historic people, and have speculated on their origin.

Fantastic tales have been accepted as fact and sober articles have been written seeking to prove that the builders of the mounds and earth works were members of a lost tribe of Israel; a band of Welshmen who wandered into the Valley of the Mississippi; were Aztec, or Toltec invaders; were survivors from the "Lost Atlantis," or were at least a vanished people—"The Mound Builders." Still others sought to prove that human culture originated on this continent, had an early center in the Mississippi Valley and thence spread over the world.

It is not our purpose to review in detail these theories, or to cite the arguments given in their support. One claim, however, should be repeated since it has a direct bearing on our subject.

It is stated that the burial mounds must be of considerable antiquity since none is known to be the work of our modern Indians. Death customs, we are told, are so associated with religion and customary practice that it is inconceivable that the habit once established would have been abandoned. Hence there must have been a drastic change in population with the coming of the Indians.

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Here it should be noted that there is considerable reason to believe that the Winnebago of Wisconsin did build some of the mounds in that region, and archaeological work in Illinois has revealed at least one site built entirely within the historic period. At the Fisher site, near Channahon, Mr. George Langford excavated a series of mound and house sites. The central burial of one of the minor mounds yielded a skeleton of a modern Indian on whose chest was a silver crucifix. Beside the body was a small wooden chest fitted with lock and key. Within the chest was a compass, a thimble and other articles of White manufacture. Evidently we have here an historic Indian mound, probably relating back to the time of the Jesuit mission.

The assumption that burial customs are fixed within a tribe has long been held by ethnologists and archaeologists. Indeed it has been customary to separate cultures partially on the basis of the manner of burial. This assumption was challenged by a graduate student at the University of Chicago who made a detailed investigation of the burial customs of the Indian tribes in the region of the Great Lakes. This painstaking study made it clear that several methods of burial were often used within the same tribe. It appeared that interment depended partially on the time of the death, on the rank of the deceased, the clan to which he belonged, and other causes. Thus if a death occurred in the winter when the ground was frozen the corpse might be hung in a tree or be placed on a scaffold. Later the bones were collected, tied in a bundle and were buried. Or again, a member of the turkey clan might be placed in a sitting position on a high hill, to imitate the roosting habits of that bird. However, the majority of the tribesmen were buried, extended full length, in shallow graves. With the coming of the Whites and conversion of the Indians, burial customs underwent rapid change.

It appears then that burial practices are not as definite and unchangeable as generally assumed. It is likewise evident that the erection of burial mounds was not entirely unknown to our historic Indians.

But what of the statement that the historic Indians were newcomers into Illinois, while the mounds give evidence of considerable antiquity? For the most part this claim appears valid and is substantiated by both archaeological and historical evidence.

The seventeenth century appears to have been a period of great unrest and tribal movement in the Lakes Region. The incursions of the Iroquois led to the westward movement of several of the Algonkian speaking peoples, who in turn brought pressure on the tribes of Michigan and the Green Bay Region of Wisconsin. From the latter region we can trace the historic movements of the Potawatomie, the Sauk and Fox, the Ottawa, the Miami, and Kickapoo. The Shawnee appear to have crossed and perhaps to have settled for a time in the southern part of the State, subsequent to their movement from Ohio soon after 1750. Bands of Iroquois pushed across Ohio and Indiana into Illinois and in 1680 destroyed the "Great Town" of the Illinois Indians near Starved Rock, but they made no settlements in the State.

The only tribe for which any claim to long settlement might be made is the Illinois. We do not possess historic data relating to them prior to their entry into the State, although we do know that the closely related Miami and Kickapoo were late comers.

At the time of the entrance of the French the several subtribes of the Illinois occupied most of the northern half of the State. Among these were the Kaskaskia—the occupants of a powerful village destroyed by the Iroquois in 1680. Historical records and recent excavations carried on by Dr. Arthur Kelly of the University of Illinois, have established

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the location of the village on Plum Island, across the river from Starved Rock. The archaeological findings have been checked against the historical data and it seems evident that the upper levels of the settlement correspond to the Kaskaskia culture. Even the tragic end of the village is evidenced by numerous unburied skeletons which were found just below the present surface of the soil. A few objects of White manufacture, such as beads, two steel blades, and some objects of alloyed copper assist in giving the final date of occupancy. But there is evidence of long occupancy here. Cache pits have yielded corn and seeds, while refuse pits have revealed thousands of animal and fish bones, broken pottery, stone implements and other objects. A study of the latter indicate cultural change through a considerable length of time. But if we grant that the Kaskaskia were the only people to occupy this site we still have failed to find the builders of the mounds in the immediate vicinity. In these a very different culture exists.

Who then were the Mound Builders? What evidences have they left of their settlement of the region? Who preceded them in the land we now call Illinois?

Systematic scientific exploration and excavation have been carried on for only a few years yet certain facts are beginning to emerge.

We know that the Mound Builders were Indians not very different in physical type from the historic tribes. We know that they did not represent one tribe or culture or period; but that cultures succeeded one another through considerable periods of time. We have evidence that long before the builders of the mounds had entered Illinois a long headed population had penetrated the region, and there are hints that man's occupancy of the State may date some four thousand years. We know that in the northeastern part of the State are effigy mounds, resembling snakes and animals, indicating close association with similar sites in Wisconsin.

We know of huge mounds, shaped like truncated pyramids, which seem to link the builders with the pre-historic peoples of the Lower Mississippi Valley. The great Cahokia mounds of East St. Louis are the best examples of this type, but the culture extends north as far as Aztalan in Wisconsin. We know that people possessing the highly developed Hopewell culture of Ohio had penetrated this State, had established extensive settlements and had built great mounds enclosing log tombs and cremation pits. We know that cultures other than these can be distinguished and can be dated in relation to each other through stratified village sites and burial mounds. We know of rock shelters and caves in the southern part of the State, which while not yet excavated give evidence of former habitation, while many rock carvings and drawings still await careful study.

A few examples of archaeological work will indicate the nature of the problems to be met, the technique of excavation, and some types of pre-historic monuments to be found within the borders of the State.

When a site is to be excavated it is staked out in five foot squares. A trench is sunk outside and at right angles to the long axis of the mound which is then sliced down in thin layers. A horizontal plane is likewise cut across the top and thus any intrusive excavation is noted at once. Close watch is kept for any trace of old sod lines, soil profiles or other hints which may assist in reading the story of the site. When an object of interest is located its position is read and recorded, but nothing is removed until its full significance and relationship to other objects and burials have been fully established.

A mound on the bluffs overlooking the Joy Morton estate, near Lewistown, was opened by this method. Two badly disintegrated skeletons were found at the lower level. Their position in the mound and the condition of the bones seemed to argue for considerable age. Another interesting fact was

that the bones were packed in red ochre and with one body was a long leaf-shaped arrow or spear head of distinctive type. At the same level and above, throughout the mound, were many flexed skeletons in excellent condition. These were often in great confusion and not infrequently one burial had been cut through in order to let in another body. No pottery or other objects were placed with these flexed skeletons. Finally the mound contained a number of extended burials accompanied by many objects of ornament and every day use. These appear to be intrusive and in many instances flexed skeletons had been disturbed to make way for an extended burial, but the reverse never occurred.

It seems evident that we have here three periods of burial, distinguished by the condition of the bones, methods of burial, and associated objects. The bodies packed in red ochre appear to be the oldest; the flexed burials second, and the extended burials last.

A few hundred yards away a mound was excavated which contained several bodies packed in red ochre. Like those at the lowest level of the first excavation the bones were badly disintegrated. Many leaf-shaped lance heads, like those already described, occurred with the burials, and in addition were objects of copper and fragments of pottery. Still another site of this type was discovered several miles away and additional objects of material culture were added to the list. From these several finds we are able to describe the culture of these "Red ochre people."

On the same ridge are several mounds containing flexed burials of the type found in the middle level of the first mound. None have offerings placed with the dead but pottery fragments and other camp refuse give a hint of their culture.

About two miles distant is a large mound excavated by Dr. Don Dixon. A permanent structure placed over the burial has made it possible to leave the bodies in place to-

gether with all the objects interred with them. These bodies are extended and the objects buried with them belong to the same culture as the extended burials on the Morton estate. Here, however, are hundreds of objects ranging from bone beads and stone arrow heads, to pottery jars of many forms, so it is possible to add materially to our inventory.

Near the Dixon mound is a village site which when excavated showed two levels, one belonging to the builders of the mound, while below it was a horizon typical of the Woodlands culture farther north.

In the Valley of the Illinois and near to the site just described are a number of large mounds which excavation has shown as related to the so-called Hopewell culture of Ohio. The builders of these mounds often cremated their dead, or buried them in log tombs. In the latter cases they sometimes placed quantities of pearls, platform pipes, copper axes and many other prized objects with the dead. Several of these sites have been excavated and the distinguishing marks of the culture are well-known. Adjacent to two of the mounds are village sites of the same people. One of these covers more than an acre and in places shows refuse accumulation to a depth of four feet. It thus gives us an unusual opportunity to become acquainted with the poorer utensils of daily use and with the trite and trivial objects which seldom are placed in the graves. It likewise gives an opportunity to study any changes which took place during the long period of occupancy.

Near to another mound of the same people is a village site which when excavated showed two distinct cultures. The upper and younger appears to belong to the middle of the bluff cultures first described, while the lower is undoubtedly Hopewell. Thus another step is taken in our chronology. Finally at Liverpool is a large Hopewell mound. Below its base and apparently antedating its con-

THE PRE-HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

struction by many centuries were discovered eleven burials of the so-called "Black Sand people." In contrast to the round heads of the Hopewell burials these people had long heads. They likewise offered sharp contrast in facial type. No log tombs enclosed their skeletons, and only a few crude objects were found on the black sands.

Judging from this brief sketch of the finds in Fulton County we may reconstruct the pre-history somewhat as follows: Some centuries ago a long-headed Indian population showing some negroid characteristics and having a very simple culture settled along the Illinois River. They were followed long after, by the Hopewell people who probably pressed in from the East, for their closest cultural relationships are found in Ohio. These intruders possessed a high culture. They raised corn and tobacco, made excellent pottery, had advanced weapons of stone and copper, and had extensive trade relations. Their death cult is characterized by cremation, log tombs, and burial mounds often of great size.

Still later we have the bluff dwellers who buried their dead in flexed position, and finally came the people represented in the Dixon mound. But comparison of the utensils found in this site and adjacent village relates the builders at least distantly to the culture of the Great Cahokia mounds of East St. Louis. All the sites so far mentioned appear to be pre-white since in none of them have any objects of European manufacture been found.

A somewhat similar story was revealed by the excavation of Mr. George Langford in the mounds near Channahon. Here in the tops of the mounds were intrusive burials of the modern Indians. Below these were three distinct levels, referring back to different periods of occupancy of the region, and finally well below the mounds were discovered graves of a still older and long-headed people.

Probably the oldest trace of occupancy of Illinois by humans was discovered by Dr. Arthur Kelly of the University of Illinois. While excavating below the historic Kaskaskia village at Plum Island, he came upon evidences of an old land platform. Above it lie eight or nine feet of stratified river deposits, in the upper portion of which is the historic site. This old land surface is estimated by the geologists to be approximately four thousand years in age, yet on its surface, and below the stratified deposits, are several "camp fires," small circular patches of charcoal and ashes, and around one is a crude circle of stones.

But what of the physical types found in the mounds? The excavations of the University of Chicago have yielded approximately eight hundred skeletons from mounds of various types and periods. There is individual and regional variation among them yet they conform to a general type which falls distinctly within the range of the historic Indians. These in turn must be classed as Mongoloids. The long headed population found below the mounds at Liverpool and Channahon show certain negroid characteristics yet in general conform to a Mongoloid type.

The pre-history of Illinois is still imperfectly known, but the work to date makes it clear that the builders of the mounds were American Indians. While most mounds were used for burial purposes, others were ceremonial, and some served as fortifications. Judging by such evidence as has been cited, the period of mound construction was a long one and the builders were not drawn from a single culture. Indeed it seems evident that several important cultures crossed Illinois. It thus becomes a key State. Its story must be read to make intelligible the pre-history of its neighbors.

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EARLY EDITORS AND NEWSPAPERS OF VERMILION COUNTY*

By
ARNOLD WARD

Everything must have a beginning some time, and so it was that the newspapers of Vermilion County started from the embryonic stage and developed into the modern method of newspaper making. In 1833, when John S. Williams brought his meager outfit to Danville and issued the first number of the *Weekly Enquirer*, printing was very different from what it is today.¹ The paper in those days contained four sheets, or rather one large sheet which was printed on both sides, and then folded. The blank sheet was placed in the machine and compressed against the inked letters by a screw, and in this way one side of the paper was printed. Then the sheet was turned over, and the same process was used to print the reverse; after which it was folded and then was ready for delivery. At the rate of speed at which the papers could be printed, two hundred was a day's output. Today our only newspaper, with its modern equipment, considers fifteen thousand, twenty-four page papers a chore to be finished in one hour. Today the printed and folded papers come in a stream with a steady click, click, click, and it requires two men to off-bear them from the press. In the early days to which I have referred, the editor of the paper didn't have to worry about the society column or the sport page, the market on stocks and bonds, or the gruesome stories of the gangster killings.

*This essay was awarded first prize in the 1932 state-wide competition conducted by the Illinois State Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution, Illinois Chapter.—Editor.

¹*Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, Scott, Franklin W., 1910, page—155.

VERMILION COUNTY NEWSPAPERS AND EDITORS

In the matter of production in the early days every task was performed by hand, even the type being slowly assembled one letter at a time. In almost every instance the editor was a practical printer and depended for his extra help upon an apprentice boy, who was given his living and clothing in exchange for the privilege of learning a trade.

Life with the pioneer was a serious matter and his outlook was reflected in the papers of the early day. There were but few references to the settlers in the issues of these pioneer newspapers, and what today is known as "local news" had no place in their columns. Such "news" as might appear had to do with matters foreign to the community and perforce was clipped from the columns of some other journal produced in a larger town of the Atlantic seaboard. Politics was given much space, but a reading of those pioneer sheets sometimes keeps a person guessing as to just which party is the one favored by the editor. Partisan politics had not reached the point where a paper must support a given list of candidates, but each editor was a law unto himself and his paper gave space to his personal opinions only. Essays on morality and long-winded homilies of advice, not only to the young but also to the aged, had much space in the printed columns. It must be remembered that in the days of sparse settlements news was not "news" in the sense of today. The happenings of the neighborhoods were transmitted by a system of "grapevine" and would be threshed out and stale long before the slow-going editor could send the story to the cabins in his weekly newspaper.²

In the early papers of Vermilion County there were few advertisements, and these generally were set in the same size type as the subject matter. If the advertiser wanted a little emphasis, a word or two would be set in capital letters. The advertisements themselves offer quaint reading. The extravagant claims of the merchant are not to be found,

²An examination of the files of early Danville newspapers, 1843-1880.

but instead there are brief notices of the sale of the necessities. There were no page ads of the cigarette preferences of movie and stage favorites, but rather short notices of the arrival of the mail stage, the receipt of shoes and other necessities from the eastern seaboard, the names and rates of inns in Chicago, Paris, Lafayette, Indiana, and other towns which provided markets for livestock and farm products, and last but not least, glowing accounts of the merits of Vaughn's Vegetable Lithontriptic Mixture, Smith's Tonic Syrup or Vegetable Febrifuge and Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry. Doctors were scarce and the quacks with their bottled cure-alls received hearty response to their advertisements.³

As above stated, the *Weekly Enquirer*, edited by John S. Williams, was the first Vermilion County newspaper and was first issued in 1833. It was a four-page, six-column sheet and struggled along until 1839. In 1836, when Dr. J. M. Peck, afterward founder of Shurtleff College, at Alton, visited the town to gather data for his *New Gazetteer*, he found "fourteen stores, three groceries, three taverns, . . . and a printing office from which issues weekly the 'Danville Enquirer,' and 700 inhabitants."⁴

As is the case today, appreciation of a newspaper comes only through its absence, and the lapse of time between the demise of the *Enquirer* and the initial number of *The Patriot* caused the latter to be given a hearty welcome. It was established in 1843 by Daniel Clapp and afterward conducted by A. Y. Harrison. Originally it was an ardent supporter of Henry Clay and the Whig party. Upon its sale in 1855, Clapp embarked in the banking business, getting control of the Stock Security Bank, which had been established in 1852. A year later, after he had removed

³Danville *Weekly Patriot*, April, 1843.

⁴*Gazetteer of Illinois*, Peck, J. M., Grigg and Elliott Co., 1837, page—188; *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, Scott, Franklin W., 1910, page—155.

the business from an old frame building in East Main Street to a log house opposite the present site of the Grier-Lincoln Hotel, he failed, and today the only memorials are a few specimens of his wildcat money. The business was taken over by John L. Tincher and J. G. English, who later organized under the national bank act, and the First National Bank of today is an outgrowth of their effort.⁵

Next in the roster came the *Illinois Citizen*, by J. Hollingsworth, in 1849. Like the *Patriot* it was Whig in politics, but the early issues carried a vigorous campaign for the building of the Georgetown and Perrysville plank road, an early dream of the pioneers. In its columns, too, are frequent scurrilous references to the *Herald*,⁶ a short-lived newspaper which A. Y. Harrison attempted to establish as a democratic organ at the same time he was issuing his Whig *Patriot*.⁷

In February, 1856, *The Independent* was established by McKinley & Blackford, with Dr. T. E. Lemon as editor. The latter had been a practicing physician in Danville for ten years, but hearing the call, deserted to journalism. But not for long: while his pen was "trenchant," his editorials did not attract readers and soon one of the partners, J. B. McKinley, took over the duties while the other set the type and did the heavy work. Their venture marked the advent of the use of large or display type in their advertising columns. It was the first also to carry the display appeals of the dealers in any considerable amount. Their advertising columns were practically a business directory of the town.⁸

⁵*History of Vermilion County, Illinois*, Beckwith, Hiram W., H. H. Hill and Co., 1879, page—373. Specimens of the "wild-cat" money of the Stock Security Bank and of the Tincher and English Bank may be seen in the D. A. R. Museum in the City Library building.

⁶*Western Portraiture and Emigrant's Guide*, Curtiss, Daniel S., J. H. Colton Co., New York, 1852, page—347.

⁷*Danville Weekly Citizen*, June, 1849; also mentioned in *Illinois As It Is*, Gebhard, Fred; Keen & Lee Co., 1857, page—440.

⁸*Danville Weekly Independent*, February, 1856.

February, 1856, also saw the advent of *The Prairie State*, another venture of A. Y. Harrison. Heretofore he had been identified with Whig journalism, but the new venture was a subsidized one, a number of the leading Jacksonians having raised a sum of money with the understanding that the new publication must be uncompromisingly Democratic in its editorial policy. The period was for one year, at the expiration of which time Editor Harrison cast off the chains and became a follower of the new Republican party. The new policy failed to be popular and the venture soon passed out.⁹

The first issue of the *Vermilion County Press* appeared April 8, 1857, with James D. Kilpatrick as editor. A year later Dr. Lemon again felt the urge and bought an interest, to be relinquished in 1859, when the partners quarreled over the policy of the paper. Kilpatrick was a convert to the newly-formed Republican party, while Lemon followed the traditions of his Virginia birth and was a last-ditch Democrat. Kilpatrick, who later was to serve four terrible years as a soldier in the War between the States and gain the sobriquet of "Chickamauga Jim," carried on until he heeded his friend Lincoln's call for troops, when the paper suspended.¹⁰ In the campaign of 1860 he carried the name of Lincoln as his presidential choice, with Simon Cameron for Vice-President, while G. Price Smith, in his newly-established *Danville Republican*, advocated the nomination of Salmon P. Chase for President and Lincoln for Vice-President. Like Lemon, Smith was a doctor, and soon followed his confrere from the editorial room back to the hazards of medical practice. His paper introduced the innovation of illustrations in the advertising.¹¹

⁹*The Prairie State*, February, 1856.

¹⁰James D. Kilpatrick enlisted as a private in Company C, 125th Illinois Voluntary Infantry, August 14, 1862, and was mustered out June 9, 1865—*Adjutant General's Report*, Vol. VI, 1900, page—454.

¹¹The *Vermilion County Press*, April, 1857, and the *Danville Republican*, June, 1860.

In February, 1859, the first issue of the Danville *Plaindealer* made its appearance, with Daniel Clapp of the defunct *Patriot* as its guiding hand. It seems to have made but small impression upon the reading public, and little is of record concerning it until December, 1867, when it was merged with the Danville *Commercial*, which after a short period as the *Commercial-Plaindealer* dropped the latter name, and it passed out of local history.¹²

The *Daily Commercial-News* of today is Danville's only newspaper and symbolizes the merger of the *Commercial* and the *Daily News* in 1903 and the purchase and suppression of the *Daily Press* in 1928.

The *Commercial* dates back to April 5, 1866, and was established by Short & Wright, bankers, with P. D. Hammond, who had resigned as principal of the Danville Seminary, as editor. Its advent marked the arrival of the first power printing press in the county. During its early existence the change of ownership was frequent, and various men were known as its editors. The merging with the *Plaindealer* marked the addition of Col. R. H. Johnson to the editorial staff. Among the others who at times directed its editorial policy were J. G. Kingsbury, Abraham Sandusky, Andrew Gundy, Jesse Harper, O. E. Harper, Maj. E. A. Routhe, S. H. Huber, Park T. Martin and R. C. Holton. A. J. Adams, long identified with the Danville *Times*, was for a period the business manager. In December, 1897, the paper became the property of the late John H. Harrison and his cousin, Robert P. Harrison, with the latter as editor and the former as business manager. Upon the retirement of Robert P. Harrison, in 1898, William J. Parrett purchased the interest of that gentleman, and has been in charge of the business management since that date.¹³

¹²*History of Vermilion County, Illinois*, Williams, John R., W. R. Brink and Co., 1875, page—11.

¹³*History of Vermilion County, Illinois*, Williams, John Moore; Historical Publishing Co., 1930, pages—477-79.

The *Danville News* was started in October, 1874, using the equipment of the long-dead *Argus*, in a building on the present site of the First National Bank, by a stock company. The daily edition first appeared October 13, 1876. From 1875 the late William R. Jewell was associated with the company and for many years continued as the editor of the publication. In 1890 he became sole owner of the journal and continued in control until the merging with the *Commercial*, when he retired from active work. Mr. Jewell came to Danville from Indiana in 1873 and began the publication of a semi-monthly paper called *The Siege*. It was an advocate of the cause of temperance and the official organ of the Sons of Temperance, a secret order that just then enjoyed great popularity. An advertisement in the first Danville Directory states that "it opposes Intemperance, Monopolies, Corruption, Oppression and the Extravagant Pride, Speculation and Gambling of Our Time." It was short-lived.¹⁴

A. G. Smith established *The Times* in February, 1868, and began the issuance of a daily edition in 1875. It was unusual because of the fact that while Editor Smith retained control of the weekly edition he had Asa Miller as a partner in the daily venture. The city directory of 1876 shows that Asa was a permanent guest of the St. James Hotel. The paper was independent in politics.¹⁵

This policy made possible the establishing by Jacobs & Thompson, in 1878, of the *Weekly Post*, which was the only Democratic paper in the county. Two years later the equipment was purchased by T. B. Shoaff & Bros., who came from Paris. They continued the paper, but changed the name to *The Leader*, and in 1884 began the publication of a daily edition. In 1887 the paper passed to the ownership

¹⁴First Danville City Directory, Danville Printing Co., 1874, Not paged in front of book.

¹⁵*Danville City Directory*, H. M. Edmondson & Co., 1876, pages—65 and 109.

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of a stock company and became the *Daily Press*. In 1907 it passed to the ownership of Clint C. Tilton and A. R. Lynch, who consolidated it with the *Morning Democrat*, a paper which had been started ten years previously by a wing of the Democratic party, and the merger was continued under the name of *The Press-Democrat*. Later the latter part of the name was dropped and it continued as *The Press* until 1928, when it was absorbed by the *Commercial-News*.¹⁶

In the 70's and 80's but little capital was required to start a newspaper and this fact offered an attractive field to the man who wanted to advocate a cause. Labor was cheap and the demands of the readers were not exacting. Hence Danville was a fertile field for the fellow with a "yen" to air his views or reform the world. It was this urge that inspired R. C. Holton, later with the *Commercial*, to start the *Advertiser* in 1869. In 1870 Lyman Gwinnup began and ended the publication of the *Farmer's Advocate*. *The Advertiser* failing to get a response, Holton bobs up in local history the following year as the editor of *The Argus*. It, too, died.¹⁷

An important date in local newspaper history is 1874, as it marked the publication of the first daily. It was called *The Daily Bee*, and was edited by D. Gibson. It failed of public favor and soon passed.¹⁸

Other ventures that were short-lived included a third venture, *The Democrat*, of Dr. Theodore Lemon. It lasted less than one year and was unique because of the fact that the worthy doctor refused to allow any display advertising.¹⁹

¹⁶*History of Vermilion County, Illinois*, Williams, John Moore; Historical Publishing Co., 1930, pages—477-79; and *Danville Daily Press*, Centennial Edition, September 26, 1926.

¹⁷*Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, Scott, Franklin W., 1910, page—155.

¹⁸*First Danville City Directory*, Danville Printing Co., 1874, page—79.

¹⁹*The Democrat*, October 22, 1870, and *Vermilion County*, Coffeen, H. A., Coffeen was the publisher, 1870, page—110.

In 1875 J. W. Biddlecomb started the *Weekly Messenger*. Two years later Carl Winter began printing *The Zeitung* in German. It survived until 1914.²⁰ In 1878 William Livengood attempted to establish the *National Era* with disastrous results. Another short-lived venture was the *Sunday Herald*, a "Bourbon Newspaper" started in 1879, with Phocian Howard as the editor. Later in 1890 Jesse Harper published the *Monitor*, in which he advocated the cause of the "Greenbackers," which prospered only so long as the political schism had followers.²¹

An echo of early-day newspapers occurred in 1901 when George W. Woolsey established *The Weekly Banner*, which until 1927 was to battle in the cause of Prohibition. It was a harkback to pioneer days, as it contained no local news, but was filled with essays and articles on the evils of drink. Woolsey also carried on as a minister in "The Stony Creek Bottoms" and the demise of his paper was mourned almost as much as was his own passing a year later.

As the newspapers of Danville grew in size and prestige with the growth of the city and in excellence with the competition of other cities, the demand for local representation by the smaller towns led to the establishment of weeklies in many of the municipalities. Hoopeston led in 1872 with the establishing of the *Weekly Chronicle*—later a daily—by Dale Wallace.²² As the town grew it gave support also to the *News* and the *Herald*. Today the field is covered by the *Chronicle-Herald*.

In 1880 the Sidell *Wayside* was established, with the *Journal* of today as its successor. The Ridgely *Republican* still issues, as does the Georgetown *News* as the successor of *The Investigator*. Rossville at one time supported two weeklies, but today finds all the local news in the col-

²⁰Danville *Zeitung*, October 5, 1914.

²¹Danville *Daily Press*, Centennial Edition, 1926.

²²*History of Vermilion County, Illinois*, Beckwith, Hiram W., H. H. Hill and Co., 1879, page—711.

umns of *The Press*. Rankin still supports *The Independent* under the able direction of Charles Hill.

Gone but not forgotten by the denizens of other villages are the Indianola *News* and the *Gazette*; the Potomac *Rustler* and *Patrol*; the Fairmount *Veto* and *Review*; the Oakwood *News*; the Catlin *Racket* and the Westville *Journal*.²³

Thus ends the story of the transition of the newspapers of yesteryear, with their sage advice and homilies, to the up-to-the-minute publications of today, filled with all the important news not only of the neighborhood but of the world, with pages devoted to the entertainment and instruction of the reader, editorials written by pastmasters of thought, comics for the young and all submitted in a manner that satisfies not only the student and the one who wants all details, but also portrays all with headings so the busy man with but a minute to spare may know all at a glance and keep up with the times.

All hail the pioneer editor who added to the happiness and contentment of the settler of the early day with his weekly essays and crude printing, and all hail, too, to the editors of today, who have kept pace with the world and do so much to make life worth living.

All Hail!

²³Information furnished by Clint C. Tilton, Danville, Illinois.

AN UNNOTED FACTOR IN THE BUCHANAN-DOUGLAS FEUD*

By

RICHARD R. STENBERG

The prevailing explanations of President Buchanan's advocacy of "Lecompton" and proscription of Senator Douglas for pursuing an independent course seem to the writer unsatisfactory. One of Buchanan's probable motives has hitherto been overlooked. A few apologists of Buchanan have assumed that the Lecompton Constitution—the *ex-parte* production of Kansas pro-slavery settlers and "border ruffians"—was all that it should have been to receive presidential sanction, and have viewed Douglas's opposition as factional and "ambitious." Thus Professor P. G. Auchampaugh says: "It was the ambition of Douglas, or perhaps his desire to sustain himself in Illinois, far more than the echoes of 'Bleeding Kansas,' which fatally divided the Democracy. In spite of the hostile criticisms then and since, President Buchanan had the satisfaction of having followed the iron path of public duty."¹ Few students have reached this conclusion or will do so now.

Whether, when he made Robert J. Walker Governor, Buchanan intended an impartial administration in Kansas or merely mistook that *Southern* gentleman, he in any case soon repudiated the Governor's even-handed program and recalled him. Probably he had been honest in intention,

*This paper is in the nature of a reply to the article, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," by Philip G. Auchampaugh, which appeared in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April-July, 1932.—Editor.

¹Philip G. Auchampaugh, *James Buchanan and His Cabinet on the Eve of Secession* (Lancaster, 1926), 35.

but came to have a change of heart. John W. Forney, editor of the Washington *Union*, represents Buchanan as telling him that he "changed his course because certain Southern States had threatened that if he did not abandon Walker and Stanton they would be compelled either to secede from the Union, or take up arms against him."² This was an apologetic exaggeration, as is likewise the historical view that he was "dominated" by Southern leaders. Besides being closely tied to the Southern politicians, who had secured his elevation in 1856 and on whom his chances for further honors depended, Buchanan believed that the South had suffered great injustice from the North. "If the personal liberty laws are not repealed in the North, the South will have a right to secede and ought to secede," he wrote privately after the Dred Scott decision.³ He took the optimistic Southern view that this decision quite destroyed Douglas's popular sovereignty doctrines (whose *practical* force was only too evident) and used this irrelevantly to justify his undemocratic course on Lecompton. It was obvious that Walker sought the Presidency—which fact may help account for Buchanan's repudiation of him. Another

²Forney's testimony before the Covode Committee, in *Ho. Report* 648, 36 Cong., 1 sess., 296. Cf. Howell Cobb to A. H. Stephens, September 19, 1857, in Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *The Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb*, 424, in *Am. Hist. Assn. Report*, 1911, II; Henry S. Foote, *War of the Rebellion*, 230-232.

³Buchanan's letter quoted by J. A. Parker, in *Va. Hist. Mag.*, XIII, 85; Auchampaugh, *op. cit.*, 144; L. A. Gobright, *Recollections of Men and Things at Washington*, 216-217. O. H. Browning wrote in his diary on April 26, 1861: "Douglas told me that prior to the November election a deliberate contract was entered into between Buchanan, Davis, Floyd, Toombs & others, that if they could carry all the slave states and Oregon and California, for Breckenridge that then Buchanan should hand the government, army and all over to him, that he should be inaugurated—seize upon the government and complete the revolution by deposing Lincoln, or rather by preventing his inauguration. Douglas says he knows this to be a fact." Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, I, 466, in *Colls. of the Ill. State Hist. Library*, XX. Though the writer has seen evidence of a Southern plot to seize the Capitol and prevent Lincoln's assumption of the government, he has not seen any evidence connecting Buchanan with it. John M. Botts, *The Great Rebellion*, 113-115; Frank A. Flower, *Edwin McMasters Stanton*, 97-98; Horatio King, *Turning on the Light*, 91-94.

presidential aspirant, Secretary Howell Cobb, who coercively advised the President to support the Lecompton plan, was jealously apprehensive of Walker's presidential designs and popularity, and wrote, significantly: "There is no doubt of the fact that Walker is playing a bold game for the succession and is strongly backed up in New York. . . My opinion is that any man who puts in *now* for the succession will have his hand ruled out before the game begins."⁴

The view that Douglas in opposing Lecompton was motivated by any personal ambition beyond the wish to save himself in the Illinois senatorial election seems untenable. This action, with the advances he made later in the same direction, further alienated the Southern Democrats—among whom were many rivals and opponents who were eager for any pretext to assail him—and thus in all probability cost him the Presidency. On grounds of principle and consistency, as well as political expedience, Douglas could not support Lecompton. The generality of historians have held Professor O. M. Dickerson's view: "The Lecompton scheme violated the fundamental principle of the compromise [of 1854] by denying to the people of Kansas the right to make their own constitution. In essence it was an attempt to force legalized slavery upon the people of a new State by action of Congress—a course which the Southern Democrats, in accepting the principle of popular sovereignty, had agreed not to attempt."⁵

Douglas's position has long been recognized as more just than Buchanan's, and there is ample evidence that the President did not feel altogether happy and calm in spirit. His uneasiness displayed itself both in the vindictiveness of his war on Douglas—in whose course he keenly felt an implied censure of his own—and in his fear that the party might

⁴Howell Cobb to Stephens, July 23, 1857, in Phillips, ed., *The Cor. of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb*, 408.

⁵O. M. Dickerson, "Stephen A. Douglas and the Split in the Democratic Party," in *Procs. of the Miss. Valley Hist. Assn.*, 1913-14, VII, 199.

not be carried successfully with him. Henry S. Foote says that after recommending Lecompton to Congress Buchanan "began to grow very restless and uneasy, and I conversed with more than a dozen members of Congress, who informed me that . . . the anxious President had urged them, in language almost of imprecation, for God's sake, not to forsake him and the Democratic cause at this crisis."⁶ Even many Southern Democrats considered the Lecompton scheme reprehensible and its acceptance impolitic. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, says:

Mr. Buchanan himself gave countenance to the iniquities of the pro-slavery Constitution of Lecompton, in November, 1857. That Constitution was a fraud, gross, palpable, and tyrannical . . . attempt at usurpation . . . Having been active in the nomination and election of Mr. Buchanan, we urged upon him most earnestly the justice and policy of setting that Lecompton outrage aside, and of protecting the purity and freedom of the territorial elections; but in vain. He could not be prevailed upon to interpose for the right.⁷

The proposed consummation of Lecompton, which the President declared to be the "party" position, was, as Douglas said, only that of Buchanan and his Southern coadjutors. "The Democrats of the upper portion of the Mississippi Valley refused almost unanimously to sanction this violation . . . as is shown in the attitude of leading newspapers, resolutions of party conventions, and instructions by State legislatures. . . . While Buchanan and his backers tried to make Douglas's action appear to be a personal quarrel with the Administration, it was in reality occasioned by their own quarrel with the great Northern Democracy."⁸ Douglas merely represented the Northwestern Democracy, which was hard put to hold its own against the aggressive free-soil Republican party. Many Southern men who supported the

⁶Foote, *op. cit.*, 235.

⁷Henry A. Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*, 246.

⁸Dickerson, *loc. cit.*

Lecompton scheme admitted that the Northern Democrats could not support it without suffering devastating losses at the polls to the new sectional party.⁹ Buchanan was nevertheless right in calculating that many of the Northern Democrats, especially the numerous foes of Douglas, would "loyally" support the administration.

The Buchanan-Douglas feud probably went far back, but at least to 1856, when Douglas withdrew his name from the Cincinnati Convention, generously allowing Buchanan, instead of another dark horse, to be nominated on a platform endorsing the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska compromise.¹⁰ The conflict lay partly in character. Both men were ambitious, dogmatic and dictatorial, while Douglas was the more honest, open and generous of the two. Partly perhaps on the advice of powerful Southern supporters jealous of and hostile towards Douglas, President Buchanan did not consult the Illinois Senator in forming the cabinet or policies of the new administration, although "the support of the Northwest was the one condition of continued success."¹¹ Vice-President Breckenridge, whose nomination had been procured by Slidell as a "graceful and merited compliment to the friends of Douglas," was also excluded from Buchanan's counsels. This treatment was not exactly what Douglas and his friends had expected. Can this initial ostracism be explained merely by Buchanan's reputed policy of giving himself, for some reason, exclusively to the Southern leaders or to his "fear" that Douglas might dictate if admitted to his counsels? These suggested motives seem unsatisfactory or in need of some explanation themselves. Buchanan was not the kind to fear the contact and

⁹ Foote, *op. cit.*, 241-242.

¹⁰ Frank E. Stevens, *Life of Stephen Arnold Douglas*, 508-513, in *Journal of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XVI, Nos. 3-4 (1924).

¹¹ Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," in *Journal of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXV (1932), 7; Louis M. Sears, *John Slidell*, 124, 139; William E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, 247.

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advice of any man: he was reserved and secretive even towards close friends, and those who worked under him maintain that he was not easily dominated or diverted from his own views and plans by advisers. The charge of his "weakness," largely of Republican, Civil War origin, is not sustained by the facts.¹²

But perhaps Buchanan feared Walker and Douglas as his personal rivals for the presidential nomination of 1860. His desire for another term could hardly have failed to play a part from 1856 to 1860 in shaping his course towards these rivals and towards the South, where his chief and vital strength lay. Curiously enough, historians have uniformly believed that he had no desire to be renominated. His constant disclaimers of such desire have convinced historians so well that they have either completely ignored the contemporary charge that he was secretly intriguing for renomination or have only mentioned it to reject it summarily, even indignantly, and with it, of course, the possibility that such personal ambition partly motivated his policies. The troubles of his term and his so-called "painful indecision" and alleged superannuation have been cited as sufficient proof of his professed lack of further ambition and assumed anxiety to be quit of an office nearly "intolerable" from its onerous responsibility in the face of increased factionalism and danger of revolution or secession. Professor Auchampaugh repeats the customary view: "Buchanan was tired and sick of his position."¹³

Buchanan's statements hitherto noted are all of a single character, well exemplified by his letter to J. L. Baker of

¹²Auchampaugh, *Buchanan and His Cabinet*, *passim*.

¹³*Ibid.*, 57; George T. Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, II, 286-287; Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," 32 and note. J. F. Rhodes says, typically, of Buchanan and Lecompton: "Ambition had no part in determining his action, for in his inaugural he had pledged himself not to be a candidate for re-election; but he was timid, and in his intercourse with the Southerners, the feebleness of his will is plainly apparent." *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Restoration of Home Rule in the South in 1870*, II, 280.

July 25, 1859, complaining of the charge that he hoped to secure a renomination:

I was much mortified with the article in the Pittsburg Post. From the hour when in accepting the Cincinnati nomination I avowed the resolution not to become a candidate for a second term, I have never, in thought, word, or deed, deviated from it. I shall not, under any circumstances, change my fixed purpose. To impute such an intention to me is to charge me with gross inconsistency & hypocrisy. Besides, the imputation is calculated to impair my influence in carrying out the remaining measures of the administration.¹⁴

But this was merely a mask or pose, as appears from Buchanan's unique letter to his close friend James Campbell of Philadelphia, August 11, 1859. The denial to Baker had hardly been sent when Buchanan wrote Campbell:

I have just returned from Richmond and Washington & found prospects in both places quite as favorable as I could have anticipated. . . Everything depends on the March 4th Convention. Should its proceedings be of the proper character, my chances for the nomination are excellent.¹⁵

The March convention was the body which was to send Pennsylvania's Democratic delegates to the national convention at Charleston. Without the hearty support of his own State Buchanan's chances would be greatly diminished. It soon appeared that the composition of the Harrisburg Convention would not be "of the proper character," but decidedly averse to the President's aspirations. In November he wrote Campbell of the prospective opposition at Harrisburg to the sending of administration men to Charleston:

¹⁴John B. Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan*, X, 327; cf. 393.

¹⁵Buchanan to James Campbell, Wheatland, August 11, 1859, MS., quoted in *Americana and English Literature of the 16th to the 19th Centuries: from the Collections of William H. Cohen* (Am. Art Assn., N. Y., 1929), 49. This document until thus lately lay unknown in private hands, where it probably remains. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson also declared they would have only one term—and took two.

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Surely I possess some influence, and I shall be in nobody's way. All I desire is to give my aid in the nomination and elevation of that sound Democrat, whoever he may be who will endeavor the strongest to preserve the Union to defeat Seward . . . If they get a hostile delegation at Harrisburg it does not help anyone or worry me.¹⁶

Curbed in Pennsylvania, Buchanan's hopes declined, and he made a virtue of enforced adherence to his avowed one-term program, viewing the nomination as "sour grapes." Yet even to the last he probably hoped that the men at Charleston would turn to him as a compromise candidate. Southern leaders might again befriend him, for he had favored them. Robert Toombs wrote in January, 1860:

There are very decided indications of the North in favor of Breckinridge. Pennsylvania is certainly for him. . . I think Mr. Buchanan would like to prevent the nomination of another in order to make himself necessary. This is impossible.¹⁷

It is not to be supposed that Buchanan's ambition was new in 1859, when the burdens of office were greater and the outlook darker than in the preceding years. An observer wrote from Washington in 1857:

Gov. Floyd told Dr. Blake . . . that Mr. Buchanan . . . could be neither coaxed nor driven. Many little circumstances lead me to believe, that the President is getting suspicious of the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Cobb is evidently bent upon securing the next nomination, if possible; and one of Mr. Buchanan's Pennsylvania friends informs me that, Mr. B. is aware of Cobb's movements, and is watching him closely. I believe the whole cabinet stand in fear of the President, who relies but little upon their advice.¹⁸

¹⁶Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," 33 note.

¹⁷Toombs to Stephens, January 11, 1860, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, 456; cf. same to same, March 16, 1860, in *ibid.*, 465.

¹⁸C. W. C. Dunnington to R. M. T. Hunter, October 6, 1857, in Charles H. Ambler, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter*, 235-236, in *Am. Hist. Assn. Report*, 1916, II. Yet Cobb was said publicly to be Buchanan's choice as his successor!

That Buchanan's active jealousy extended to all his rivals is most likely. His cavalier initial exclusion of Douglas and later open war on him certainly invite the view that desire to crush a powerful rival for future honors was his underlying motive and that Lecompton offered the opportune pretext for making war. Denouncing and fighting Douglas for a "defection from the party" inspired by "overweening ambition," while concealing his own ambition (which if known would have caused contemporaries and posterity to place on his conduct an even more unfavorable interpretation), Buchanan played his hand with an artful hypocrisy quite worthy of Jefferson or of Andrew Jackson, in whose school of intrigue and "corrupt bargain" slander he had had some experience.¹⁹ By dissimulating his ambition he placed himself in appearance wholly on high ground during his term.

The first intimation in the West that Buchanan would favor the Lecompton "fraud" was an authorized editorial in the Washington *Union* asserting the constitutional right of slaveholders to carry their "property" into the Territories in defiance of any adverse laws there. Douglas anticipated a breach with Buchanan before he went on to Washington.²⁰ There he urged the President to reject Lecompton as a

¹⁹Buchanan's unscrupulousness as a politician is amply shown by his negotiations with Clay and Jackson in the election of 1824-25, by his reprehensible intrigues and dishonesty when in President Polk's cabinet, and by the findings of the Covode investigation committee, in 1859-60, which found him by no means innocent of a too useful disposition of patronage. William M. Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton*, 300-302, 313 note; Milo M. Quaife, *Diary of James K. Polk, passim*; E. D. Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*, pp. 132-139.

²⁰Douglas is reported to have said: "By G—d, sir, I made Mr. James Buchanan, and by G—d, sir, I will unmake him." C. H. Ray to L. Trumbull, November 24, 1857, quoted by L. E. Ellis, in *Trans. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc. for 1930*, p. 71. The *Union* had earlier, on July 7, sustained Walker and said that the Lecompton Constitution should be fairly submitted to the people. See Toombs to W. W. Burwell, July 11, 1857, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, 403. Forney, editor of the *Union* and long a supporter of Buchanan as editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, was now an advocate of Walker for the succession, and eventually broke with Buchanan because of his policy.

fraud upon the people of Kansas; but the President was inflexible, threatening the Senator with proscription and with the removal from office of all incumbents appointed in Illinois on his recommendation if he did not aid the administration on Lecompton. Douglas reminded Buchanan that "President Jackson is dead."

In speaking against Lecompton Douglas carefully refrained from unpleasant allusions to the President. Nevertheless Buchanan began a war of proscription, reading Douglas out of the party—or, rather, endeavoring to do so, for he failed roundly. The heads of Douglas office-holders in Illinois fell rapidly, and the administration set up an "administration" party in the State to run a ticket in opposition to the "traitor" and his friends. This sequel proved that Buchanan possessed something of the true Jackson grit. Douglas can hardly be said to have "defied" the administration, for the term implies a right in the executive to exact from Congressmen a strict, unthinking allegiance to his arbitrary measures, and this is inadmissible.²¹ Douglas had a right, if not a duty, to dissent. That contemporaries should attempt to explain Buchanan's conduct in various ways shows that they felt a need of special explanation. Why did the President's proscriptive policy not extend to *other* anti-Lecompton Democrats?

Though glossed over, the President's animus was but too apparent. Foote says:

Mr. Buchanan, . . . it was well known, had now conceived a hatred for this fearless champion of [non] intervention and popular sovereignty, proportionate to the humiliating consciousness which he could not but feel of *baffled management* and *counteracted trickery*, and prepared, as a solace for his wounded pride, to aid,

²¹Auchampaugh seeks to justify Buchanan's proscription of Douglas on the ground of the Senator's "defiance." "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," 30. He says: "There was nothing unusual in such procedure." There was not, indeed, in Jackson's time, but Jackson's political management and interference with Congressmen, directly and indirectly, was held in bad odor both in his own and later days.

as far as he might be able, in having Mr. Douglas defeated in the approaching contest for senatorial honors in Illinois.²²

There may well be truth in the charge that Lecompton was merely a pretext for Buchanan. James W. Sheahan probably reflected Douglas's own view when he wrote in his campaign biography in 1860: "If the Lecompton question had not served them [the administration] with a pretext for pursuing Mr. Douglas, they would doubtless have found some other that would have answered their purpose fully as well."²³

Douglas's friends have pointed out that the war was not of his seeking (despite the attempt of the administration to hold it up in that light); that it worked altogether to his disadvantage; and that it was continued by the administration after the pretended necessity was over. In the summer of 1858 friends sought to reconcile Douglas and Buchanan. It was the former statesman who proffered the olive branch and the latter who refused it.²⁴ Buchanan continued to make every effort to have Douglas defeated in his senatorial campaign against Lincoln. His influential friend Slidell of Louisiana made a tour in the Northwest in 1858 to help

²² Foote, *op. cit.*, (1866), 247.

²³ J. W. Sheahan, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860), 325-326. Sheahan gives a circumstantial account of the war against Douglas in Illinois (pp. 388-395).

²⁴ James May wrote Buchanan, July 4, 1858, that Douglas had said orally before several gentlemen that he desired peace. "There will be no difficulty or misunderstanding if the administration will sustain the Illinois nominations." Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," 21. Douglas's opposition to the English bill made a pretext for a continuation of the war against him to read him out of the party. Southern men even openly complained that Douglas could not be "kicked out." Buchanan knew that Douglas's opposition to the English bill was not actuated by hostility to the administration, and that Douglas, desirous of conciliation, wavered a week before going against the bill under the influence of other anti-Lecompton Democrats. Buchanan wrote in a memorandum of September, 1859, that Douglas had wished to be relieved "by accepting cordially the English bill. But Broderick was the lion in the way. He yielded to the California Senator who possesses a much stronger will." *Ibid.*, 26; cf. Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* (7th ed.), II, 563.

THE BUCHANAN-DOUGLAS FEUD

undermine Douglas. The administration continued to proscribe Douglas after his victory in Illinois.

Foote assures us that political jealousy inspired this unseemly course:

Mr. Douglas was to be martyred in advance, if possible, by a more compendious process. The Lecompton issue was to be forced upon him; he was to be simultaneously denounced by the administration presses throughout the South; an alliance with Republicanism was to be set on foot in Illinois, and Mr. Lincoln . . . was to be aided by Mr. Buchanan. . . . In despite of all this, Mr. Douglas was able to triumph. What then? It was resolved to ostracize him in a Democratic caucus of United States senators. Mr. Slidell, the President's *alter ego* and conscience-keeper, just after the result of the Illinois election was ascertained, when he passed through the city of Memphis, publicly boasted that he intended to bring about the decapitation of Mr. Douglas by the very expedient afterward put in exercise. He had, just a month before, very publicly, in a conversation with me, avowed the interference of the President in the Illinois election, and justified it. Well, the *bowstring* was applied in caucus on the application of Mr. Slidell, as had been threatened, this gentleman being reported as declaring at the time that he did so on the advice and solicitation of the President himself. . . . Then was displayed to view the monstrous scene of some eight or ten presidential aspirants uniting their powers for the destruction of one man, merely because his superior merits had given him a larger share of public confidence than any of them. Then succeeded the most magnificent parliamentary triumph of modern times, the signal and disgraceful overthrow [by Douglas] of all these conspirators in the open field of debate.²⁵

²⁵Foote's speech at Nashville, July 7, 1860, in Foote, *op. cit.*, 247 ff., 266, 285-286. Slidell moved that Douglas was no longer worthy to be considered a Democratic Senator. Jefferson Davis took a foremost part in the forensic fray. See also Sears, *op. cit.*, 148-151.

Moreover, in 1859-60 Buchanan's organ at Washington advocated a plank for the next Democratic platform declaring that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories by positive law. The plank was deliberately calculated to exclude Douglas, as proponent of popular sovereignty, from the nomination at Charleston. Buchanan thus favored Jefferson Davis's pro-slavery territorial resolutions, which were quite gratuitous, as slavery had received already, from the compromise measures of 1850 and 1854 and the Dred Scott Decision, all possible *legal* safeguards.²⁶ "Hostility to Douglas," wrote Toombs, "is the sole motive of the movers of this mischief. I wish Douglas defeated at Charleston, but I do not want him and his friends crippled or driven off."

Buchanan's pro-Southern policy perhaps served to allay the secession spirit somewhat, but it was also admirably calculated to shelve his rivals Walker and Douglas and gratify the Southern leaders, by whom alone he could be raised again to the highest office. His course towards men and measures, in conclusion, seems more adequately explained by including as a new factor his evident eagerness for a second term and his consequent fear and jealousy of outstanding rivals. Like Jackson in 1825-28, he could rise best by destroying his great rivals — possessing himself a strategic position by his office and by concealment of his own ambition and querulously discovering "ambition," "corruption" and "hostility" in his rivals' public acts. Certainly in this light many contemporaries viewed his conduct. Toombs wrote as late as March 16, 1860: "Buchanan is at his old game of breaking down in succession

²⁶Such Southern men as Toombs and Stephens saw the political animus behind Buchanan's advocacy of extreme pro-slavery pronouncements, and were opposed to it. Stephens in vain urged Buchanan to cease his covert war on Douglas by means of the proposed plank, warning him that it would fatally divide the party to no worthy purpose. R. M. Johnston and W. H. Browne, *Life of Alexander H. Stephens*, 417; Toombs to Stephens, February 10, 1860, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, 461.

all democratic aspirants in order to get it himself, and is laughed at by his own menials and dependents." ²⁷

Buchanan, a Northerner and professed Unionist, seems unhappily liable to the charge of having done much under the influence of personal ambition to break up his party by wilfully, needlessly flouting and encouraging the Southern Democrats likewise to flout the Northern Democracy. His course was too much one of "rule or ruin." How far genuine belief in Douglas's alleged unsoundness on slavery was really mixed, in the South's rejection of Douglas, with the determination of Southern politicians that they and not he should have power and control has not been and may never be determined. Their criticisms were partly specious and partly just: Douglas was naturally compelled to bend to Northern sentiment. Undoubtedly some Southern "nationalists" desired the party split to hasten a Republican victory—which seemed but a question of time—as a means to the establishment of a new nation. Douglas after 1852, when he was defeated in convention by the combination of lesser rivals, was constantly on the defensive, and stands out more and more as the greatest, and least sectional, patriot of these troubled years, striving in vain to pacify the Union.

²⁷Toombs to Stephens, March 16, 1860, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, 465.

CAMP BUTLER IN THE CIVIL WAR DAYS

By
HELEN EDITH SHEPPLEY

On April 15th, 1861, two days after the fall of Fort Sumpter, Gov. Richard Yates received the following dispatch:

Washington, April 15th, 1861

His Excellency, Richard Yates:

Call made on you by tonight's mail for six regiments of militia for immediate service.

Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War.

The State of Illinois was almost entirely unprepared for the call thus made on her for troops. There were no available, efficient, armed and organized militia companies in the State. In our principal cities and towns there were several independent militia companies, but it is probable that their occasional meetings to drill were more for exercise and amusement than in preparation for a call to military duty. Furthermore, the State was practically destitute of arms, for the records of the Adjutant General's Department indicate that the total arms in the arsenal were but 362 U. S. Altered Muskets, 105 Harper's Ferry and Deniger's Rifles, 133 Musketoons, and 227 Horse Pistols. In addition there were a few hundred unserviceable arms and accoutrements scattered through the State, principally in the possession of militia companies.

On April 23rd, 1861, the Legislature met, pursuant to the call of Governor Yates issued on April 16th, 1861, and proceeded at once to provide for the organization of the six regiments requested by the Secretary of War.

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At the same session, and in anticipation of a call for more troops by the general government, the Legislature authorized the acceptance for state service of ten regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one battalion of light artillery. It was provided that as the troops could be equipped with arms, they should be put in encampments by regiments at their regimental headquarters, within the congressional district in which they were raised, and should be held in camp for thirty days for the purpose of training and discipline, unless sooner demanded by the United States for actual duty.

On July 22nd, 1861, the next day after the disastrous battle of Bull Run, Congress authorized the President to call into service five hundred thousand troops. On the following day Governor Yates sent this message:

Hon. Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War.
Sir:

Being advised that you are receiving tenders of additional troops, I desire to tender you from Illinois, thirteen additional regiments of infantry, most of them now ready to rendezvous; three additional regiments of cavalry; and one additional battery of light artillery. Illinois demands the right to do her full share in the work of preserving our glorious Union from the assaults of high handed rebellion, and I insist that you respond favorably to the tender I have made.

Richard Yates.

Governor Yates' patriotic offer was accepted promptly and with grateful appreciation by the Secretary of War, and as a result the following troops were raised:

26th, Colonel Loomis	27th, Colonel Buford
28th, Colonel Johnson	29th, Colonel Reardon
30th, Colonel Fouke	31st, Colonel John A. Logan
32nd, Colonel John Logan	38th, Colonel Carlin
43rd, Colonel Raith	46th, Colonel Davis
48th, Colonel Haynie	49th, Colonel Morrison
50th, Colonel Bane	

Also the 3rd Cavalry, Colonel Carr; 7th Cavalry, Colonel Kellogg; and the 6th Cavalry, Colonel Cavanaugh.

On August 2nd, 1861, announcement was made in the public press that arrangements had been made for the establishment of a camp near Springfield, to be called Camp Butler, after the Hon. William Butler, then State Treasurer, and that twenty-three regiments would be ordered to rendezvous there. On the same date contracts were awarded for supplies: for bread to W. H. Stewart, 12,000 pounds per day for 10 days, commencing August 4th, 1861, @ $2\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per pound; for beef to J. D. Brown, John and George Lutz, David Morse, Henry Miller, Wm. Steiger, and Wm. Metzger. The contract was for thirty days, as much as was needed from day to day, @ $5\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per pound. The contractors were all citizens of Springfield.

Camp Butler was the second largest concentration camp in Illinois during the Civil War, Camp Douglas only being larger. It was first located six miles east of Springfield on Clear Lake, a beautiful sheet of water fed by springs. The lake is three-quarters of a mile in length, and a quarter of of a mile wide. It is bordered with a forest of large trees, furnishing a cool, shady place for encampment. To the north extended the parade grounds, ample in extent for brigade and division evolutions. Within easy walking distance was the Sangamon River, affording a means for cleanliness and recreation. The camp was considered to be far enough from the city of Springfield to render it easier to prevent dissipation and violation of discipline.

The camp site was surveyed by engineers. Each regiment was assigned to its appropriate location. The quartermaster and commissary departments were centrally located. Arrangements were made for each regiment to have its own commissariat. Barracks were to be built sufficient to shelter all the army in camp except the field officers who were to occupy tents. There was to be one company in each barrack,

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with three-tier bunks, stoves, tables to serve meals, and benches. The men of the 46th Regiment all worked as carpenters.

The enrollment of a regiment was designated as follows: 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Adjutant, 1 Sergeant Major, 2 Principal Musicians, and 10 companies. A company consisted of 1 Captain, 1st and 2nd Lieutenant, 4 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 Musicians, and 80 men. The uniform was to be designated by Governor Yates. No one was to be enlisted under eighteen nor over forty-five.

Col. Hicks was the first commanding officer of the camp. Orders were issued that the captains were to be held personally responsible for poultry and vegetables and fruit, and any other property taken from citizens by the men in their respective companies.

H. C. Myers, the proprietor of a popular ice cream parlor in Springfield, was appointed sutler by Governor Yates. Apparently his popularity followed him into camp life, for in less than a month his business had become so heavy that he could not take care of it all, and another sutler was appointed, Alexander Pender.

On August 5th, 1861, the first troops began arriving at Camp Butler; a company of infantry from Mason City, commanded by Captain Ritter; and a troop of cavalry from the same place under the command of Captain Fullerton; and cavalry troops from Madison, Macon, Piatt and Pike counties. At the same time a battery of artillery, stationed at Camp Yates for two months previous, was transferred to Camp Butler. On their arrival, these men found all in readiness for them.

By August 9th, 1861, the camp contained 1,500 men. On that date Captain Marsh arrived after spending several days in the hot scorching sun on the way. He had 100 cavalrymen under his command; a fine looking body of men. On the night before, the Adams County Dragoons caused much

favorable comment by their splendid appearance when they arrived in camp. There were in all six troops of cavalry on the grounds at this time. Included in these were a troop from McDonough County under Capt. J. D. Walker, and a troop from Logan County under Captain Larison. In the days immediately succeeding, the following troops were received at Camp Butler: a troop of cavalry from Ogle County under Capt. Charles Houghteling, a troop of cavalry from Saline County under Captain Campbell; a company of infantry from Olney under Capt. W. C. Harris; and a company of infantry from Pike County under Captain Park. By August 21st, 1861, there were 5,000 men in camp, with hundreds arriving daily.

Expert instructors were sent to the camp to train the raw troops. From Fort Monroe came Colonel McChesney to drill the infantry. The instructor in cavalry maneuvers was Major Hugo Hollan, who had served in Hungary under Kossuth. The commandant at Camp Butler, succeeding Colonel Hicks, was Capt. T. G. Pitcher of the U. S. Army, appointed aid-de-camp to rank as colonel. It was announced that he was to start a rigorous course of discipline, and that he would muster companies into the U. S. army as fast as organized.

It had been found that the officers lacked training in the use of the sword and bayonet. The criticism was made that there was much needless slaughter of our men because they had not been properly instructed. Officers, especially, were said to be practically defenceless after they had discharged their pistols. As a consequence, Captain DePew, competent instructor of fencing and bayonet practice, was sent to Camp Butler to give instructions to the troops.

In the camp could be found representatives of all trades and professions: athletes, clowns, tailors, barbers, clerks, teamsters, lumbermen, etc., etc. Few were addicted to drink. Most of them were between eighteen and twenty-five, and

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were light-hearted and care-free; the tiresome drilling could not dampen their ardor or spirits. Their toes and heels were sore from the tread of the men in front, and the kicks of those behind. At first they had no arms, but marched with hands at their sides, fingers at the seams of their trousers, and eyes fifteen paces to the front. One scapegrace made shoulder straps out of orange peels pinned on his coat, and strode out of the guard house, past the innocent sentry with the air of a Major General, only to turn up in camp later roaring drunk.

There was a decided laxity in military inspection; in fact, had it been more rigid, probably not more than one-half so many would have been permitted to fight. The case of one Peterson of Marion furnishes a very good illustration of this situation. Peterson had one eye, and a bad scar where the other should have been. His appearance was very unsoldier-like, but he had a consuming desire to shoot at rebels. As the captain passed in front of the line, he managed to keep his eye turned in the direction of the officer, and was accepted as a perfect soldier.

On August 24th, 1861, orders were issued that at the end of the month, and every month afterwards, all volunteers should be mustered for pay. Their pay was to be fifteen dollars per month, a bounty of one hundred dollars, and a quarter of section of land at the end of the war, and clothing, provisions, and medical attention free. Flogging of soldiers was not to be permitted, no liquor was to be sold to soldiers, and they were not to be allowed to go places where it was sold. The officers were to do all in their power to protect their men from drunkenness.

The citizens in the vicinity and in the nearby towns naturally took a great interest in the camp. With the constant drilling, there was some complaint about the noise of the drums; but for the most part the citizens felt only patriotic pride in the proceedings. The roads in all directions were

dusty from the travel of hundreds of vehicles conveying interested visitors to the camp.

On August 30th, 1861, the Springfield Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society was organized for the purpose of providing comforts for the soldiers during the winter months. The meetings were held in the basement of the First Baptist Church in Springfield. The officers were: President, Mrs. W. W. Watson; Vice-President, Mrs. Ulrich; Treasurer, Mrs. W. W. Miner. Four ladies were appointed in each ward to solicit subscriptions to enable the society to supply the soldiers with woolen socks and underclothing.

The ladies in nearby towns also manifested their interest in the soldiers. A flag was presented by the ladies of Berlin to the Yates Light Infantry, the members of which came from Berlin. The presentation was made on September 2nd, 1861, by Miss Mary Schuff, who made a neat, appropriate speech. The response was made by C. W. Foutch. Colonel Lewis also spoke.

The Sangamon Guards, under the command of Capt. J. P. Davis, were indebted to the ladies of Loami for such delicacies as cakes, pies, fruit, and chicken, as is indicated by a card of thanks which appeared in the *Illinois State Journal* of September 4th, 1861.

The Springfield Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society later moved to new quarters over Mr. George's shoe store on April 30th, 1863. The rooms in the new location were scrubbed and whitewashed, and were described as being as neat as a parlor. They permitted a view of the public grounds, and had the additional advantage of a south exposure. It was said that there would be more women in evidence in the rooms in the future as their time had been taken up previously with a revival.

Thoughtful consideration was given to the spiritual welfare of the men. On Sundays clergymen representing different denominations were at the camp, and held services

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which were well attended. On September 9th, 1861, the Rev. Dr. McMaster was appointed chaplain of the regiment under the command of Col. N. B. Buford.

September 27th, 1861, was national fast day. Orders were issued at Camp Butler that it be observed in humiliation and by prayer to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of the State, and a speedy restoration of peace. All squad and company drills were omitted, and no passes to Springfield were issued. The sutler stores were closed at 11:00 A. M. Divine services were held opposite the quartermaster's building at 3:00 P. M. and all companies and regiments without regularly appointed chaplains were ordered to be present.

A few days later the chapel tent of the 46th Regiment was dedicated to worship. The sermon was delivered by Bishop Simpson. A beautiful stand of colors was presented to the regiment by the ladies of Stephenson County.

Camp Butler was barely established when troops were leaving for the front. Early in August, 1861, Capt. Riley Madison's battery of artillery was ordered to Missouri. It left with 26-pound guns and a plentiful supply of ammunition including 400 rounds of canister. Shortly after, Col. S. G. Hicks' Egyptian regiment with 800 men left for St. Louis; also the 28th Regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. Waters, 750 strong, left for the same place. On September 5th, 1861, the Yates Guards left to fight. In three or four hours they were ordered back very much disgusted, having gone only as far as Jimtown (Riverton). And a little later, on September 19th, 1861, the 19th Regiment and the 33rd Regiment left on special trains for Washington. There was little time for leave-taking. About the same time the 38th Regiment under Col. W. P. Carlin was ordered to St. Louis.

In the middle of December, 1861, orders were issued from the War Department at Washington that all temporary

camps in Illinois be broken up, and that Camp Douglas and Camp Butler be the general rendezvous. Announcement was made that it was the intention of the government to fill up all regiments in the field to the standard prescribed by law. Recruits were to be sent from Camp Douglas and Camp Butler.

Late in the fall of 1861 contracts were let to Merriam and Dorman of Quincy to furnish fifty car loads of lumber for additional barracks. The contract for erecting the barracks was given to Captain Cringle. The new barracks were located close to Jimtown (Riverton) at the side of the Great Western (Wabash) Railroad. The camp was later removed from Clear Lake to the new location. Semi-daily trains were run to and from town. However, even with the new barracks, it was soon found that there were not enough barracks, and that many of the men were sleeping in tents. The weather was cold, and many folks were anxious about the soldiers. There were good sheet iron stoves in the large headquarters, and fireplaces in the smaller quarters. The men were issued an extra supply of blankets. During the holidays the boys at Camp Butler were not forgotten by the home folks, who supplied them so generously with turkey and "fixins" that there was an abundance for all.

About this time there was much interest in camp over a breech loading cannon invented by Captain Rodgers. It was cast in Springfield. It could be loaded and fired ten times in a minute. The cannon was sent to St. Louis and efforts were made, without success, to interest Fremont in the invention.

From September 30th to November 30th, 1861, the rations for the troops at Camp Butler were supplied under a contract let to Doctor Fowler of Springfield, and R. E. Goodel of Joliet at $14\frac{7}{8}$ cts. per ration. Their bid was three or four cents better than others. The contract was let by N. W. Edwards, U. S. Commissary. He relieved the

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state commissary from furnishing further supplies for the troops in the camp. Early in December, 1861, Captains Wilcox and Hempstead, U. S. Army Paymasters, arrived in camp to pay the troops. There was considerable delay, however, owing to the difficulty of getting proper muster rolls from the officers of the companies.

On August 21st, 1861, Governor Yates issued a proclamation that all applicants to be surgeons and assistant surgeons in the army must appear before an examining board and receive a certificate of fitness before they could be accepted. By September 18th, 1861, announcement was made that more surgeons and assistant surgeons had been passed than there was room for in the Illinois regiments, and that no more applications would be considered except for six years of service. Previous to this a State Sanitary Commission had been formed, and a local committee to solicit funds. Notices appeared in the press that anyone wishing to contribute should go to the stores of John Williams and Co., S. H. Melvin, D. B. Salter, E. B. Hawley, or Kimber and Ragsdale, all of Springfield.

The public attitude toward army nurses was amusingly illustrated by an article which appeared at this time to the effect that beauty was below par; that sweet little cherubs 'who sit up at Washington' to attend to the health of soldiers had promulgated the word that none but plain women over thirty can be accepted as nurses; hoops were to be abolished, and nurses were to be made walking spindles in regulation dress. The details of the nurse's costume were given as follows: Bright, brown dress, half-way down the leg; pantalettes same color, tight around the ankle; black hat with plumes the same color; feet in morocco boots. It was announced that female nurses connected with the army were to receive 40 cents per day, and one ration.

On August 21st, 1861, occurred the first death in the camp: Private Willard of Captain Ritter's company died

of lung fever. On September 17th, 1861, Private Johnson was drowned. At the end of the first month of camp life there were thirty-five patients in the hospitals.

An interesting ceremony took place on November 23rd, 1861, at Camp Butler, when the ladies of Jacksonville presented a flag to the 32nd Regiment, commanded by Col. John A. Logan. The presentation speech was made by Miss E. McMaken. The band played the Star-Spangled Banner and the Marseillaise, after which a salute was fired by Captain Rodgers. Two months later, on January 22nd, 1862, a sword and belt and silk sash were presented by the officers and men of the 32nd Regiment to Adjutant J. F. Drisk. The flag and paraphernalia were purchased at the elegant establishment of Mr. G. W. Chatterton of Springfield.

Evidence of the difficulties in preventing dissipation is furnished by an editorial which appeared in the *Illinois State Journal* on January 16th, 1862, complaining because the men had to march to town to be paid, and that as a result dozens were to be found drunk on the streets. Inquiry was made as to why the paymaster could not go to Camp Butler to pay the men. On one of the pay days a row broke out in Rick's saloon, and knives were used, three men of Captain Craft's company being wounded. On January 25th, 1862, Lieutenant D. A. Harris of Company B, 5th Cavalry, did patrol duty with twenty-five Springfield men, and fifty drunken, straggling soldiers, with or without irregular passes, were picked up around town and marched to their barracks.

On December 12th, 1861, Colonel Watson, Commandant at Camp Butler following Colonel Pitcher, resigned, and Col. Thos. G. Allen was appointed to fill the position. Within a week Colonel Allen issued twelve new rules relative to liquor, officers going to town, furloughs, visitors to camp, securing passes, and arrests of privates and non-com-

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missioned officers. Announcement was made that the rules were to be strictly enforced.

Colonel Allen was on February 1st, 1862, succeeded by Col. Pitcairn Morrison, of the 8th Infantry, U. S. A., and the latter was in turn, on June 25th, 1862, succeeded by Col. John G. Fonda of the 12th Cavalry. On the date that Colonel Morrison assumed command, the Post Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon, and the Assistant Adjutant General were released. When Colonel Fonda took office he was presented with a cavalry sabre, a blade of beautifully polished steel, from the 15 Day Battalion, stationed at Camp Butler.

An editorial which appeared in the *Illinois State Journal* on February 3rd, 1862, indicated that there had been much criticism of Governor Yates on the ground that he had used his appointing power for partisan promotion. The editorial stated that there was no truth in this charge of political favoritism but that on the contrary, he had tried to unite loyal men of all parties in a great effort to save the country. As an evidence of his fairness, the fact was cited that among the colonels of the Illinois regiments 37 were Democrats, 26 were Republicans, and seven were of unknown politics.

Governor Yates reviewed the 5th Cavalry on February 13th, 1862, just before they left Camp Butler for Cairo. At this time almost eighty thousand men had left Camp Butler. In bidding them farewell, Governor Yates made an inspiring speech in which he said:

"You are all Illinoisans, and when it comes to good, hard fighting you are there; your flag is there; 'Victory or Death' is your motto. You represent the banner state."

Early Saturday morning, February 23rd, 1862, there arrived in Camp Butler 2,000 Confederate prisoners captured at Fort Donelson. They were in charge of 400 men of the 52nd Illinois. Good quarters were assigned, and they were given first class rations.

"Let us kill with kindness those we didn't kill with bullets," was the suggestion made in the *Illinois State Journal*.

The prisoners were clothed in a variety of many-colored garments, yellow, brown and gray. Some were wrapped in dirty white blankets and pieces of carpeting, giving an unfavorable impression of the resources of their quartermaster's department. There were no two coats of the same pattern. Some had a species of rough gray uniform. Their hats were nondescript. Many of the prisoners said that they were in favor of the Union, and always had been. A great many visitors from Springfield went out to see the prisoners.

The following orders were issued relative to the treatment of prisoners:

1. Officers were to be separated from the men.
2. No distinction was to be made between the sick in the two armies.
3. The rations were to be the same in the two armies.
4. The prisoners were to be divided into squads and their quarters were to be policed daily.
5. Gifts of clothing sent to the prisoners by friends were to be given to them. Their letters were to be opened. They were to be permitted money in small quantities if sent to them by friends.
6. Prisoners were to be allowed free intercourse with their chaplain.

On March 1st, 1862, fifty more prisoners arrived on the Alton Railroad, and were taken from Springfield out to Camp Butler in wagons. One thousand and fifteen more prisoners captured by General Pope at Island No. 10 arrived at Camp Butler on April 14th, 1862. They came from Cairo by the way of the Illinois Central Railroad and the Great Western Railroad.

The barracks occupied by the prisoners were well fenced and they were carefully guarded; but in spite of these pre-

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cautions a number escaped. Several of these were recaptured at Louisville, Kentucky, and were returned to Camp Butler. Several others gave themselves up voluntarily, in Jefferson County. They said that they could have gotten through the lines, but that they didn't want to be pressed into rebel service again. They expressed a willingness to settle in the State if they could be joined by their families.

A pretty accurate impression of conditions in Camp Butler during the summer of 1862 may be gained by reading the report made by J. Cooper McKee, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A. The report follows:

Camp Butler, July 21st, 1862.

Col. Wm. Hoffman, Commissary

Gen. Prisoners of War.

Detroit Mich.

Dear Col.:

Camp Butler is situated on the G. W. R. R. 6 miles from Springfield. The camp is situated on rather a high rolling piece of ground, surrounded by a high board fence, enclosing some fifteen acres of land. It was originally intended as a camp for the instruction of volunteers. The barracks are built for two regiments. They are mere shells, single boards forming the sides and roofs. The sides are very low, about eight feet in height, the roof covered with tarred paper. They afford protection neither from storms or heat. During the month the temperature has registered 102 for days in my own room. The effect of such continued heat on the sick and well in these miserably constructed barracks has been prostrating in the extreme. The prisoners of war, 2,000 in number, occupy the rows of barracks on the right. In front of these are two rows of tents on the main street, also occupied by them. Four of these barracks in this row are used for hospitals, part of another as a drug store. A line of sentinels surrounds all, leaving ample room for the prisoners to exercise; but they are generally indifferent to this and to their personal cleanliness.

Two other hospitals outside of these lines are now allotted to convalescents on account of the shade.

On my arrival in May, I found the hospitals, six in number, in miserable sanitary condition. No one had taken the authority or trouble to better this. The floors were filthy, no deodorizing agent was thought of, and slops and filth were thrown indiscriminately around. The sick were crowded in wooden bunks, some on the floor, many without blankets, and nearly all without straw, either new or old. No attention was paid to ventilation or drainage. The stench from the wards was horrid and sickening. Food was abundant, but badly prepared. Medicines were deficient. The stewards were negligent of their business; the nurses and cooks insubordinate and inattentive to the wants of their sick companions. The condition of the prisoners, many of whom had been broken down in service prior to their capture, opened a favorable field for the development of low types of diseases, and accordingly typhus and typhoid fevers, pneumonia, erysipelas, etc., raged with violence and great fatality.

To carry out my plans required much explanation and persuasion. I was successful in what I undertook for the comfort of the unfortunate sick. Floors were scrubbed, lime was applied freely to the walls and floors, ventilation and drainage attended to. A fever hospital, making seven, was established. Another hospital was used for pneumonia, and another for erysipelas. The surgeon prisoners of war were assigned to their own hospitals. Stewards and nurses were encouraged to emulate each other in cleanliness of their wards, all with the happiest of effects. Cooks were supplied with the necessary kitchen furniture, barrels secured for slops, water was furnished in abundance for the sick, and the wards were limited to the number of thirty patients.

The hospital fund procured many necessary articles such as ice. The medical purveyor at Chicago sent me a full supply according to the standard supply table for six months. A drug store under an excellent druggist was established. A quantity sufficient for a change of shirts, drawers and sheets was obtained from the quartermaster. Fresh straw and bed sacks were also secured. Under these changes, the difference in the mortality of my hospitals was remarkable

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and exceedingly gratifying. During the month of May 123 died, while in June only thirty died.

Of 24 cases of camp fever, 4 died, of fourteen cases of typhoid two died, of 23 cases of common continued fever 2 died. In two cases I was unable to diagnose whether they were typhus or typhoid until after a post mortem examination. Ammonia, tonics and stimulants had to be used in large quantities. One case I thought of fatal relapse was saved by blistering the whole length of the spine with ammonia and mustard. Typhoid or enteric fever was treated in much the same way, with the addition of oil of turpentine, of which I can not speak too highly. Quinine had to be employed freely among these men in nearly all diseases. They generally came from miasmatic districts. I can speak with the highest satisfaction of the use of muriated tincture of iron in the treatment of erysipelas, alternated with quinine it controlled the disease in all its forms. I found that local applications of iodine and silver nitrate unsatisfactory in their results, not controlling the spread of the disease. I abandoned their use and applied emulsions of flax seed, saving pain and trouble to my patients. The fatal cases reported were complicated with other diseases.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

J. Cooper McKee,
Asst. Surgeon U. S. A.

During the latter part of the summer of 1862, negotiations were being conducted with the enemy looking toward an exchange of prisoners. Proceedings were halted, however, because it was reported that Union prisoners were being held in solitary confinement, and it was decided that an exchange should not be made until this abuse was corrected. However, on September 6th, 1862, announcement was made that 900 would be exchanged, Colonel Fonda having received orders to send them to Vicksburg. In the meantime, 263 prisoners had taken the oath of allegiance to the Union, and were allowed to return to their homes in Kentucky and Tennessee.

The soldiers at Camp Butler, as well as the citizens of Springfield, were greatly interested in the spring of 1862 by the return of a flag—which had been through the Battle of Shiloh near Pittsburg Landing. It was perforated by ten bullet holes, and a large rent made by a shell. The staff was shattered. The flag had been presented to the 7th Illinois by the ladies of Springfield.

On July 15th, 1862, the government issued a call for nine regiments of volunteers from Illinois, one from each congressional district. To take care of these additional troops Adjutant General Fuller and Lieutenant Hill, U. S. A., the mustering officer, selected a new camping ground south of and adjacent to the barracks already erected. At the same time Colonel Fonda, Commandant, had the fence about the prisoners' quarters extended to include the hospitals, commissary, and quartermaster's departments.

With the coming of these troops, a riot occurred at Camp Butler on August 28th, 1862, between the 82nd Regiment, Col. Frederick Hecker commanding, and the 91st Regiment commanded by Col. Henry M. Day. Colonel Hecker had stationed guards around his camp. These guards got across the road used by Colonel Day's troops. When the latter attempted to move their baggage along this road Colonel Hecker's guards would not let them pass. Colonel Day's men retired into the woods to procure poles, axes, and hatchets. For a time it appeared that there would be a serious collision between two bodies of men each a thousand strong. However, Colonel Fonda ordered out eight companies of the 70th Regiment and order was restored. The leaders of the disturbance were placed under arrest.

There were 12,000 men in camp by the middle of September, 1862. Included in these were representatives from almost every county in the State of Illinois. One regiment, the 124th, contained nine clergymen. The general health was very good, there being only 180 men in the hospital.

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The medical department was under Colonel Reece. The camp continued under the command of Colonel Fonda.

Mr. Henry B. Davidson of Springfield, Commander of the Springfield G. A. R. Post in 1932, has some interesting recollections of life at Camp Butler. Mr. Davidson enlisted in the 12th Illinois Cavalry January 15th, 1862, and was stationed at Camp Butler until he left for the front the following May. At the time of his enlistment he was seventeen. With him was his brother aged fifteen years. There were many boys under the age limit in the camp, the officers advancing ages and altering records to meet requirements. Some boys were taken out by their parents.

Mr. Davidson states that there was little training at Camp Butler. There was some training in riding, and some sword exercise. Country boys could all handle guns at the age of twelve and were good shots. Most boys came to camp wearing their Sunday boots, but they didn't last long; then they had to put on army boots when they were out. Inspection was lax, little attention being paid to dress; a man inspecting on horseback couldn't see what kind of boots soldiers wore. There were many lady visitors at Camp Butler. They usually had a bottle of liquor concealed in their stocking for a man friend. Some had articles for sale; orders for clothing and underwear were taken. The rations at Camp Butler were good. They had fresh bread every day, beans and rice, potatoes, and coffee, but no butter, the latter being considered quite a luxury. After two years Mr. Davidson re-enlisted as a veteran, having served in the field in the interim. He states that the first carbines that were furnished his regiment could shoot a half-mile, but that later they were furnished carbines that would carry a mile. Mr. Davidson was mustered out at Camp Butler June 18th, 1866.

From the time that Camp Butler was created, the ladies of Springfield and other parts of the State were constantly

working for the comfort of the soldiers at Camp Butler and wherever the boys might be. Ladies' Soldiers' Aid rooms were established at Springfield, and there could be found a grand display of flags and banners. At night the rooms were brilliantly illuminated, there being a pyramid of lights behind a flag in the center window. Within could always be found kind-hearted women working slippers, and making other comforts for wounded soldiers. On March 8th, 1862, there appeared a letter in the *Illinois State Journal*, from Colonel Reece, Post Surgeon, thanking the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society for supplies sent to the sick soldiers.

A tableau for the benefit of wounded and sick soldiers was held on March 22nd, 1862, at the German Theatre at Springfield. The affair was sponsored by the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society. Tickets were sold at the respective mercantile establishments of Messrs. Watson, Chatterton, and Melvin and Ordway. The profits from this tableau were \$290.50. The next day there appeared a card of thanks in the daily papers over the signature of Mrs. Tilton, Sec'y of the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society, thanking the owner of the hall, the orchestra under Prof. Ellsner, and all others who had assisted in making the affair a success.

Another society, The Ladies' Loyal League, was organized on May 16th, 1863. In the following June a meeting was held in the State House and patriotic addresses were made by Mr. James C. Conkling, the Rev. A. C. Hubbard of the Second Baptist Church, and the Rev. Francis Springer, chaplain of the cavalry regiment composed of men living in Springfield and the adjacent territory. Mesdames DuBois, McCulloch, and Farnsworth were appointed on the financial committee.

On April 27th, 1863, there was held in Springfield a military ball, which was said to have been a very *recherche* gathering, and that one was very lucky to have been invited. Five orchestras were employed.

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On August 8th, 1862, the following interesting item appeared in the Springfield press:

Waverly, Ill. The little town in the southeast corner of Morgan County is patriotic to the core and has covered itself with glory. In the space of forty-eight hours after the receipt of the new order from the War Department the citizens of that place and vicinity, by common consent, without the aid of a recruiting officer or of any one authorized to raise a company, organized from their midst a company of 107 men, good and true, and on yesterday some of the citizens were in this city to report to the Adjutant General's office. The Waverly Company belongs to the Morgan County list, but it deserves a special notice for the patriotism displayed by those engaged in its organization.

Col. J. A. Barret's Frontier Regiment of cavalry came in for much favorable comment. The regiment was armed with carbines of the best quality, and equipped in first class style. A company of artillery was added to the regiment with a battery of mountain howitzers.

Another interesting organization was the 43rd Illinois, which left Camp Butler on October 13th, 1862, for St. Louis. The regiment numbered 700 men and consisted entirely of Germans, except one company of Swedes.

On October 23rd, 1862, Governor Yates reviewed the troops at Camp Butler. There were three thousand on parade including the 7th Cavalry under Colonel Prince. A great many citizens were on hand for the event, and were greatly pleased with the exhibition.

Two days later a battle line a mile long was formed under the command of Colonel Fonda. In the line were the following regiments: 82nd, 114th, 130th, 118th, and 133rd. The men were all in uniform, but some were not armed. They were reviewed by Assistant Adjutant General Loomis, of General McClernard's Staff, Brigadier General Ketchum, U. S. A., and Brigadier General Mason Brayman.

There was a grand march to Springfield on October 28th, 1862. The men started at 8:00 A. M. and arrived in town about 11:00 A. M. They were welcomed at the north gate of the public square by Governor Yates. They counter-marched around the State House, the present Sangamon County Court House, and proceeded on out to a prairie northeast of town, to partake of refreshments. Afterwards the troops were drawn up in line of battle, the maneuvers lasting until 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon. The music for the occasion was furnished by the band of the 48th Regiment, consisting of eighteen members, all young tradesmen. The instruments used by the band were of German Silver, and were said to have cost \$800.00, the band having refused the miserable brass instruments proffered by the government. The feature of the musical program was the "Dead March from Saul" which the band played with great proficiency of execution and time. The proceedings were witnessed by a large number of citizens, some in carriages, some on horseback and some on foot, who occupied the space next to the prairie where the soldiers were drilling.

A battalion of the 46th Infantry under Major Fred Starring, marched to Springfield on November 20th, 1862, and drilled on the common at the south end of Sixth St. There were three hundred men in the battalion, all armed with Enfield rifles. After drilling, they marched through the principal streets of Springfield, and were reviewed at the State House by Governor Yates and a staff of state officers. They halted before the residences of President Lincoln and General McClernard to pay their respects to these distinguished citizens. Later they were reviewed by Col. C. C. Marsh of the 20th Illinois, who pronounced them very proficient. The battalion was recruited from Stephenson County.

A contract for the erection of additional barracks was let to Chicago men on November 4th, 1862, it being an-

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nounced that recruiting was not to be closed in Illinois on account of cold weather. The buildings were to be large enough to accommodate four or five thousand men.

In the latter part of 1862 complaint was made in the public press about the laxity of discipline at Camp Butler. It was said that men were allowed to be absent from camp too frequently, that they were to be found in the streets around the hotels all of the time. It was charged, also, that officers were spending too much time in Springfield, on the streets and in the saloons, sporting their buttons in the eyes of citizens, when they should have been in camp, looking after the comfort and cleanliness of their men and conducting drills.

The following interesting acrostic appeared in the *Illinois State Journal* on October 14th, 1862:

Camp Butler, what a busy hive!
A nest of humans all alive.
Men of all minds make up the nest,
Posted on sciences the best.
Boys here are found that are not wise;
Until they are they will not rise.
The bulk exceed the rural masses.
Let none deny we have all classes.
Evil and good, foolish and wise.
Rebellion though, they all despise.

One of the regiments which was trained at Camp Butler is deserving of special mention, namely the Normal Regiment, so called because the nucleus of this regiment was recruited at Normal, Illinois. This regiment contained a full complement of 1,000 men, including a number of college boys, teachers and educated men. Every member had to be able to read and write. Two Springfield boys, members of this regiment, were captured at the fight at Big River Bridge, on October 22nd, 1862.

As was to be expected among so many wooden buildings, there were several fires. On January 31st, 1863, one of the

shanties used as a hospital burned, with little loss however. On April 10th, 1863, fire broke out in Barrack No. 10, occupied a short time before by some Confederate prisoners. It spread from one building to another until twelve barracks were destroyed. The fire caught from coals dropped from a stove. A fire broke out in the officers' barracks on January 18th, 1864. A portion of the barracks was torn down in order to stop the fire. Capt. Weldon Dillon, of Benton, and Lieut. Emery Bennett of the 13th Illinois Cavalry were burned to death, and several others were burned severely. Blankets and coats to the amount of \$4,000 and the Paymaster's rolls were destroyed.

A report made by Capt. H. W. Freedley, of the Third Infantry, U. S. A., clearly describes conditions as they existed in Camp Butler in the Spring of 1863:

Col. Wm. Hoffman,
Commissary Gen. of Prisoners.
Washington, D. C.
Colonel:

I have the honor to submit the following report of the condition of the prisoners of war confined at Camp Butler near Springfield.

The camp is situated about six miles east of Springfield on the G. W. R. R. and is commanded by Col. W. F. Lynch 58th Regiment Ill. Vol. There are at present confined in this camp 3,620 prisoners of war who were captured at Arkansas Post and are principally from the states of Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. These prisoners are guarded in 21 frame buildings, including hospitals, each one erected for the purpose of quartering U. S. Volunteers. These buildings are ample for their accommodation, are provided with comfortable bunks, and in every way fitted up as quarters for our own troops.

The rations issued to the prisoners I find to be quite as large as they can consume. They are cheerful and contented, and all agree in saying that their provisions are now better in quality and larger in amount than those issued to them when in the service of the Confederate States. The

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prisoners are divided into companies. The roll is called daily under the superintendence of the Provost Marshal, and all changes and alterations reported to the commanding officer. These reports are frequently verified by counting all the prisoners when on parade. Every precaution has been adopted to secure correctness and security. The guard is detailed from the 58th. Ill. Infantry, and from the 16th. Ill. Cavalry, stationed at the post. The sentinels were quite sufficient in numbers and well posted. They appear well instructed in their duties but perform them in a loose and indifferent manner. The prisoners are, however held securely, and but few escapes have been made. They appear to have become indolent, and so contented with their treatment that they do not desire to escape.

The discipline at the camp is not good. A loose manner of performing all the duties of a soldier seems to prevail. There is a decided want of force and energy among the officers and there is not a sufficiently broad line of demarkation between them and the enlisted men under their command. Indolence and want of energy seem to prevail among the troops as well as among the prisoners. The police of the camp was very poor. No attention has been paid to it. Large amounts of offal have been permitted to accumulate in the vicinity of the prisoners quarters until they were almost too filthy to visit. This was partly to be excused as it has rained almost daily for some weeks. The camp has never been dry since the prisoners arrived. Roads have been almost impassable, and it has required all the transportation of the camp to supply it with wood. Such was the condition of the roads that wagons were unable to reach the camp from Springfield. Had proper attention been paid to drainage there would have been no necessity of its being in such a wretched condition. I applied to Capt. Bailhache, Asst. Quartermaster at Springfield, and he temporarily furnished 3 additional wagons for the use of the camp. As soon as these reached camp they were enabled to supply it with wood and some measures were taken to have it properly policed.

The prisoners' barracks, internally and without, were exceedingly filthy, the prisoners taking no trouble to insure their own cleanliness or comfort although every means were

within their reach. The officers in charge of the camp didn't attempt cleanliness among the prisoners, and appeared not to be aware of its importance. The prisoners, on their part, were content to remain in indolence amongst filth and vermin.

The duties of the Adjutant's office have been properly performed. The books and records are correct. The money accounts have been properly kept, and all remittances are recorded and receipts given. Proper economy is exercised in all accounts of the prisoners. I found everything in the office satisfactorily performed. The Quartermaster's Department is under the charge of Capt. Bailhache, Asst. Quartermaster U. S. Volunteers, having for his assistant at the camp Lieut. George Sawin, Regimental Quartermaster 58th Ill. Volunteers. Affairs in this department have been administered with proper economy, but there has been a disposition to do as little as possible to promote the comfort of the prisoners. No expense has been incurred in their behalf. On my arrival I found many destitute of proper clothing, and succeeded in obtaining for their use a small quantity of gray clothing which had been turned over to the State of Illinois to the Quartermaster's Department. This issue supplied all their immediate wants.

The barracks occupied by the prisoners are sadly in need of repairs. New bunks should be constructed, additional modes of ventilation provided, while repairs in the floor and roof are required. The camp presents a general appearance of neglect. It appears that this camp was built by Capt. Charles B. Watson, 14th U. S. Infantry, late mustering and disbursing officer at Springfield out of the fund for collecting, organizing, and recruiting U. S. Volunteers. Upon being relieved, Capt. Watson did not turn over this camp to his successor, and consequently it is not properly accounted for, nor kept in that state of repair that the interests of the service demand. The repairs required by this camp do not require much expense to the government, and the labor could all be performed by the prisoners.

The Commissary Dept. is under the charge of Capt. Ninian W. Edwards, Acting Commissary of Subsistence, U. S. Volunteers of Springfield, having for his Assistant at the camp Lieut. John H. Barret, 10th Ill. Cavalry, Acting

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Assistant Commissary of Subsistence. The rations furnished are good, and wholesome. The affairs of this department are conducted with a due regard to economy, and in every respect satisfactorily. The rations are furnished by contract at a cost of \$14.97 per hundred rations; Fowler and Co. of Springfield, contractors.

The medical department is under the charge of Surgeon E. A. Merrifield, 58th. Ill. Vol. and is plentifully supplied with medicines and other hospital supplies. I have inspected the hospitals and find in them but little improvement over the barracks as regards to cleanliness. I was indeed surprised to find such a filthy place for sick men. These hospitals have a large number of nurses and attendants, who have been detailed from the prisoners themselves, and every care and attention is given the patients. The buildings used as prisoners' hospitals are illy adapted to the purposes to which they are applied. They are not sufficiently well ventilated and are badly arranged. As cleanliness and ventilation are the great essentials for a hospital no buildings would answer the purpose in the condition I found these. I attribute their condition to the indolence of the nurses and attendants, to the want of force in the medical officers in charge of the hospitals, and to the general disregard of police regulations by the prisoners. Assistant Surgeon Merrifield is well aware of the wants of the hospitals, as that of the troops was in good condition. He has repeatedly given proper instructions, but has shown a want of energy and force in not enforcing them. The officers, here, have given many directions to the prisoners regarding their own comfort, but have permitted their instructions to be disregarded. The prisoners, indolent from confinement, will not perform the ordinary police duties of the camp demanded by all sanitary regulations.

There are two physicians employed by contract as assistants to Dr. Merrifield in the prisoners' hospitals. There are also three prisoners who represent themselves to be medical officers in the Confederate States army, and who are employed attending the sick prisoners, and render valuable service. Dr. Merrifield appears desirous of doing his duty, is active and industrious; but there is a looseness, want of discipline and system in the hospitals. There were three

buildings used as prison hospitals which contained 207 patients. All of these were seriously sick, and presented a case of suffering calculated to excite much sympathy. Besides these sick in the hospitals, there were 250 prisoners receiving medical treatment in the barracks. These prisoners were not seriously unwell, and were able to visit the hospitals daily for their medicines. Besides the hospitals above referred to, there was a small building separated from the camp, and without the enclosure that was used as a small-pox hospital. It contained 7 prisoners, all varioloid cases.

The sanitary condition of the prisoners has improved but little since their arrival. The principal causes of their unhealthy condition are exposure in the transportation to this camp, long confinement in transports without sufficient clothing to protect them from the weather, prostration and reduction before capture, together with a total neglect of all sanitary regulations and personal cleanliness. The mortality of the camp is quite large, 103 persons died during the month of February. The prisoners' fund is rapidly accumulating and proper economy is exercised in its disbursement.

Quite a number of the prisoners have taken the oath of allegiance. Before being permitted to do so, each applicant is carefully questioned and examined, and if there is any reason to doubt the sincerity of his application the indulgence is not granted. I think that proper attention is not given to this subject, and the examination is not sufficiently thorough. The commanding officer is entirely too liberal in this respect. A number of prisoners here are Texas conscripts and there is a great deal of professed loyalty among them. Quite a number of them who were released by taking the oath of renunciation and allegiance have enlisted in the U. S. service. I would not permit any of those who enlisted in the U. S. troops at the camp to be placed as guards over their late companions. 61 prisoners were released upon taking the oath of renunciation and allegiance during the month of February. The duties of Provost-Marshall are performed by Capt R. W. Healy 58th Reg. Ill. Vol. but owing to a lack of force in the officers, and a want of discipline they were not performed satisfactorily in every respect.

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This camp might have been made a very satisfactory one in every respect, but there was an apparent neglect in everything relating to discipline. There were no police regulations established. The commanding officer, who has been a prisoner in the South, seemed to care only for the security of the prisoners. They were closely confined within limits, and no regard paid to their wants or comforts. He appeared to think that this was all that was required of him. He has permitted the prisoners to take care of themselves; they have become indolent and have lived in filth and idleness until they have lost all energy and pride. I have given every necessary instruction at this camp for the complete compliance of all your instructions. I have instituted rigid police regulations and when I left everything indicated great improvement. With the aid of a few days of fine weather, I have no doubt that the police and sanitary condition of the camp will be wonderfully improved.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully
your obedient servant,

H. W. Freedly.

By the middle of the summer of 1863, it was reported that there had been contributed within less than a year to the sanitary stores under the supervision of Colonel Williamson money to the amount of over \$22,000.00 and supplies of sufficient value to make the total over \$50,000.00. Included in the donations were dray loads of jellies, dried fruits, clothing, etc., etc., all for the welfare of the sick and wounded. During the week ending August 27th, 1863, the following supplies were received at the general hospital at Camp Butler: 8 bushels of potatoes and 12½ doz. onions from the Ladies' Loyal League and the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society of Springfield; 24 rocking chairs, 6 skeins of yarn, 1 barrel of vegetables from the Fairbury Ladies' Loyal League; 12 chickens, 4 gallons of blackberry cordial, handkerchiefs, 275 towels, a pair of socks, and half a bushel of tomatoes from the Ladies' Loyal League of Loami; also contributions from the Ladies' Loyal League of Canton,

the ladies of Wolf Creek, and the Dwight Soldiers' Aid Society. At this time there were 417 patients in the general hospital. On December 3rd, 1863, there arrived in Camp Butler fifty-nine incapacitated soldiers, wounded at the battle of Chickamauga. They were transferred from hospitals at Louisville and Albany. During this winter the farmers in the surrounding country sent into Springfield 93 loads of wood to be used by soldiers' families.

Between January 1st, 1864, and January 27th, 1864, 278 patients were admitted to the general hospital at Camp Butler, of whom 25 died. The most prevalent diseases were cerebro-spinal meningitis, pneumonia, and typhoid pneumonia. It was said that ninety per cent of the fatal cases were due to exposure and improper food, and as a result, there was criticism that the conditions prevailing at Camp Butler were not what they should have been. Mr. John P. Reynolds, President of the State Sanitary Commission, and the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society of Springfield offered their services to investigate conditions, and to endeavor to bring about a better state of affairs.

The Springfield Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society gave a dinner at the general hospital at Camp Butler on July 9th, 1864. The ladies were warmly thanked by Sarah Gregg, matron of the hospital. In the course of her remarks she hinted that it would be advantageous if the ladies would label the cans of fruit in order that the cans might not be opened unnecessarily when the boys wanted a certain thing.

That there was some desertion among the troops at Camp Butler is indicated by the fact that on August 8th, 1863, forty-five deserters had been apprehended and returned to the army. Early in December, 1863, it was announced that Lieutenant Colonel Clark, who had been devoting his attention to copperheads and deserters, had arrested over fifty persons, most of them deserters. He had found many arms and horses unclaimed by owners.

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January 19th, 1864, was a gala day in Springfield. On that date the 7th Illinois Volunteers arrived back in Springfield. The 7th Illinois was one of the most notable regiments among the Illinois troops. The following is quoted from the Adjutant General's Report, Illinois, 1861-66:

Illinois having sent six regiments to the Mexican War, by courtesy the number of the regiments which took part in the war for the Union began with the number seven. A number of regiments which responded to the first call of the President for troops claimed to be the first regiment in the field, but the honor of being the first was finally accorded to Col. John Cook, and hence his regiment was numbered seven.. . .

The regiment was mustered into the U. S. service at Camp Yates, April 26th, 1861, by Capt. John Pope, U. S. A., was forwarded to Alton, St. Louis, Cairo and Mound City, where it remained during the three months service.

Was reorganized and mustered for three years service July 25th, 1862, by Capt. T. G. Pitcher, U. S. A.

Since that date the regiment had seen much active service and had a glorious fighting record, of which the citizens of Springfield were tremendously proud, as many of the officers and men were their own. They had reenlisted on their return trip.

The streets were hung with flags, the children were let out of school, and everything was in readiness for a rousing reception. At 2:00 o'clock the booming of the cannon announced that they were near. As the train pulled in, there was a deafening cheer from the great crowd gathered at the Great Western depot. Escorted by the fire department, and preceded by bands of music, the veterans marched to the Hall of Representatives where there were more cheers for Governor Yates and the Old Seventh. Governor Yates made a speech three-quarters of an hour in length. An unfortunate accident took place in the midst of the rejoicing. During the firing of the cannon, a pane of glass at the

Great Western depot was knocked from the sash, and fell on the head of Miss Elizabeth Hyde, severely cutting her. One entire sash was blown in.

Three days later the 26th Illinois Regiment returned to Springfield. Preceded by the Silver Cornet Band, they marched to the Union League rooms, where Governor Yates welcomed them back home with an inspiring speech. A wonderful dinner was served by the ladies of Springfield.

On March 14th, 1864, the officers and the men of the 14th Regiment, together with the officers and men from a number of other regiments, met at the Chenery House whence they went to Adjutant General Fuller's office, and discoursed music. General Fuller was sick, so the Hon. J. C. Conkling made a short speech. They then went to the office of the *Illinois State Journal* where J. Rogers, Esq., of the Adjutant General's office welcomed them. Later they repaired to the residence of Mr. Conkling where they were entertained with wine and song.

In 1864 the Soldiers' Home was erected on the government lot at Sixth and Monroe streets in Springfield. Its purpose was to supply the needs of soldiers passing to and fro. The need for such service is indicated by the fact that on November 19th, 1864, 590 soldiers who were passing through the city were supplied with food at the home.

After the close of the war, Camp Butler was continued as a camp for the mustering out of troops, until the last of the Illinois troops were mustered out of service in 1866. All that now remains of Camp Butler is the burying ground. It was established in 1862. Here lie in peace the bodies of both Union and Confederate soldiers. Of the Confederate soldiers, there are 866 graves. Originally there were 875, but later nine bodies were disinterred and taken back to their native Southland. Of Union soldiers, there were 776 graves in 1932. As it is a National Cemetery, there are

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additions to the graves of Union soldiers from time to time. The Camp Butler Cemetery lies on the hard road between Springfield and Decatur, on Route No. 10. It is a beautiful spot, shaded by exceptionally fine trees. Many passing tourists pause here to pay their tribute to the men who gave their all in the great struggle to preserve the Union.

The following troops were mustered into service at Camp Butler:

INFANTRY

26th,	Col. John M. Loomis.....	Oct.	31st, 1861
27th,	" N. B. Buford.....	Oct.	31st, 1861
28th,	" A. K. Johnson.....	Aug.	3rd, 1861
29th,	" Jas. S. Rearden.....	July	27th, 1861
30th,	" Philip B. Fouke.....	Sept.	30th, 1861
31st,	" John A. Logan.....	Sept.	8th, 1861
32nd,	" John Logan	Dec.	31st, 1861
33rd,	" Chas. E. Hovey.....	Aug.	15th, 1861
34th,	" Edward N. Kirk.....	Sept.	7th, 1861
38th,	" Wm. P. Carlin.....	Aug.	15th, 1861
43rd,	" Julius Raith	Dec.	16th, 1861
46th,	" John A. Davis.....	Dec.	28th, 1861
48th,	" Isham N. Haynie.....	Nov.	18th, 1861
64th,	Lt. Col. D. D. Williams.....	Dec.	31st, 1861
68th,	Col. Elias Stuart	Oct.	31st, 1861
70th,	" O. T. Reeves.....	July	4th, 1862
73rd,	" Jas. F. Jaquess.....	Aug.	21st, 1862
82nd,	" Frederick Hecker	Aug.	26th, 1862
91st,	" Henry M. Day.....	Sept.	8th, 1862
97th,	" F. S. Rutherford.....	Sept.	8th, 1862
107th,	" Thos. Snell	Sept.	4th, 1862
114th,	" Jas. M. Judy.....	Sept.	18th, 1862
115th,	" Jesse H. Moore.....	Sept.	13th, 1862
117th,	" Risdon M. Moore.....	Sept.	19th, 1862
118th,	" John G. Fonda.....	Nov.	29th, 1862
120th,	" Geo. W. McKeaig.....	Oct.	29th, 1862
124th,	" Thos. J. Sloan.....	Sept.	10th, 1862
128th,	" Robt. M. Hudley.....	Dec.	18th, 1862
130th,	" Nathaniel Niles	Oct.	25th, 1864
133rd,	" Thad. Phillips	May	31st, 1864

HELEN EDITH SHEPPLEY

140th,	"	L. H. Whitney.....	June 18th, 1864
142nd,	"	Rollin V. Ankney.....	June 18th, 1864
145th,	"	Geo. W. Lackey.....	June 9th, 1864
146th,	"	Henry H. Dean.....	Sept. 20th, 1864
149th,	"	Wm. C. Kneffner.....	Feb. 11th, 1865
150th,	"	Geo. W. Keener.....	Feb. 14th, 1865
152nd,	"	F. D. Stephenson.....	Feb. 18th, 1865
154th,	"	McLean F. Wood.....	Feb. 22nd, 1865
155th,	"	Gustavus A. Smith.....	Feb. 28th, 1865
	Capt.	John Curtis	June 21st, 1864
	"	Simon J. Stookey.....	June 21st, 1864

CAVALRY

2nd,	Col.	Silas Noble	Aug. 24th, 1861
3rd,	"	Eugene A. Carr.....	Sept. 21st, 1861
5th,	"	John J. Updegraff.....	Dec., 1861
6th,	"	Thos. H. Cavanaugh.....	Nov., '61-Jan., '62
7th,	"	Wm. Pitt Kellogg.....	Aug., 1861
10th,	"	Jas. A. Barrett.....	Nov. 25th, 1861
12th,	"	Arno Voss	Dec. and Feb., 1862
15th,	"	Warren Stewart	Dec., 1863
16th,	"	Christian Thielman	Jan.-Apr., 1863

FIRST REG. ILL. LIGHT ARTILLERY

F, Capt. John T. Cheney.....Feb. 25th, 1862

SECOND REG. ILL. LIGHT ARTILLERY

G,	Capt.	Chas. J. Stolbrand.....	Dec. 31st, 1861
H,	"	Andrew Steinbeck	Dec. 31st, 1861
I,	"	Charles W. Keith.....	Dec. 31st, 1861
K,	"	Benj. F. Rogers.....	Dec. 31st, 1861

INDEPENDENT BATTERIES

Springfield—Capt. Thos. J. Vaughan.....Aug. 21st, 1862

NOTE:

Material for this article has been gathered from the files of the *Illinois State Journal*, *Illinois State Register*, *Adjutant General's Report*, *Illinois*, Vol. I, 1861-66 Revised; *Report of the Sanitary Commission*, 1863-64; the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 2; *History of Illinois*, 1673-1873, by Davidson and Stuvé; and from a personal interview with Mr. Henry B. Davidson.

SOME PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER COUNTY

By

LAURA MILFORD RIFE

The real permanent history of what is now Alexander County appears to have begun with the coming of the Athertons to Unity on the west side of Cache River and to Shiloh on the east side about 1815 or 1816, when Alexander was still a part of Johnson County, several years before Illinois became a State.

At the time of their coming there were a few straggling settlements both on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The Hackers and a few others, including the Milligans, had settled in Dog Tooth Bend in 1812. Four English families had settled there as early as 1809 and built a log school house which Captain Hacker's grandfather attended in 1816. The Bird family had settled on the Cairo point in 1795 and were still established here, but later moved across the Mississippi.

The very oldest settlement of course was McElmurry Station where Fayville now stands. Here was "Block House Fort" built by the McElmurries, Standlees and Smiths sometime before 1783. Governor Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* suggests that from this fort may have come some of George Rogers Clark's "Long Knives." But this settlement had disappeared long before the Athertons came.

The early settlements of Illinois were along the Ohio and Mississippi and up the Illinois rivers and consisted mostly of people from the south. The great prairie section was not settled until after opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. Alex-

ander County was an important factor in the early history of the State for some of the counties had not a single settler until after 1840.

In several southern Illinois regions the settlements consisted of church groups, a Baptist settlement here, a Methodist settlement there, a Catholic group in one place, Dunkards, Mormons, Lutherans in others. In Johnson County a group of Scotch Presbyterians made an important permanent settlement.

In Alexander County it was English Baptists who had apparently settled in New York in colonial times, moved to Owensboro, Kentucky, on the Ohio, lived there for a generation when the more venturesome followed the lure of the river and of the West and came to Alexander County, about 100 strong, just a few years after the first steamboat came down the river. But whether they came on a steamboat or loaded their goods and chattels on flat boats I have not been able to learn. Mrs. Ellen Atherton Mathis told me that her grandmother, Elizabeth Atherton, rode horseback.

It appears that a few forerunners of this group had fled to the high ground of this section from the earthquake region of West Tennessee in 1811-12 and had no doubt sent them glowing accounts of the rich lands here with their abundance of game and wild fruits and plenty of trees to build houses. Anyway they came.

One historian describes them as a church settlement consisting of Aaron Atherton, eighty years old, his three sons Aaron, John C. and Samuel and their sons Aaron, Nathaniel and Talbot, and sons-in-law together with other relatives and friends, about a hundred in all. The names of these sons and sons-in-law still belong to some of the most prominent families in Alexander and Pulaski Counties, such as Whitaker, Atherton, Biggerstaff, Warford, Johnson, Langhame, Hollingshead, and Howard—a company about the size of the Pilgrim Colony.

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SHILOH CHURCH

In 1817, under the leadership of James Edwards and Thomas Howard, Shiloh Baptist Church, which for almost a quarter of a century was the only organized church of any kind south of Jonesboro, was organized.

The first church was a log structure, which I have been told was used both as a school and as a church. It had rude benches made of split logs, puncheon floors, and a sounding board behind the rude pulpit. Here on many a Sabbath morn gathered the tribe of Aaron Atherton.

“Decked in their homespun flax and wool
Where youth’s gay hats with blossoms bloomed
And every maid with simple art
Wore on her breast like her own heart
A bud whose depths were all perfume.”

How the woods around Old Shiloh must have rung when the high-pitched voices were lifted upward in the old songs of Zion, “I Am Bound for the Promised Land,” “Rock of Ages,” and “Jesus Lover of My Soul,” when the minister stood up and lined the hymns.

Many of the members of this patriarchal band were distinguished citizens. Most of the fifty-two Mounted Rangers, volunteers for service in the Black Hawk War, were members of Old Shiloh Church. General Atkinson said of them that they were the best mounted, best equipped, and best disciplined of all the volunteers. The figure of Abraham Lincoln must have been very familiar to these boys.

Colonel Henry L. Webb, their commander, was a member of Shiloh Church. We are indebted to his diary for many of the facts of the early history of our county.

How thrilling the story of the valiant deed and heroic death in the Mexican War of Lieutenant Aaron Atherton (Aaron III) when at the Battle of Buena Vista, seeing his captain without a sword, he shouted, “Here, take mine! I

know better how to use a musket!" The last seen of him, he was swinging the heavy weapon in wide circles as he was wont to swing the cradle in the wheat fields at home, mowing down Mexicans. The sword he gave his captain that day was long a cherished possession of his family, but at this time no one seems to know what finally became of it. Illinois was at the forefront that day. I am told that the Tazewell County lads brought home Santa Anna's wooden leg.

The name of Thomas Howard stands out prominently in our county history as one of the organizers of Shiloh Church, as county treasurer, school trustee, member of the commissioners' court and justice of the peace. The centennial edition of the minutes of the Clear Creek Baptist Association devotes considerable space to his activities in that body as its first moderator, its many-time clerk, minister on the Lord's Day, etc. Thomas Howard's wife was an Atherton. Many of his descendants are now living in Alexander County, chiefly the Ryals in Dog Tooth Bend.

Another prominent member of this church and settlement was Martin Atherton, a minister of the gospel, the first Atherton to locate west of Cache River in what is now Alexander County. Here he acquired large tracts of "Congress Land" in what is known as Richwoods and also the present County Farm.

He donated the site for Richwoods School and for Atherton cemetery in the very center of the low table land called Richwoods. This beautiful little cemetery is now surrounded by a vast acreage of blooming flowers grown commercially for the seed and bulb market—gladioli, cannas, iris, lilies, jonquil, tulips. Martin Atherton was a member of the 1848 Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois. He and Thomas Howard assisted in organizing most of the early Baptist churches in this section of the State. He reared a large family and has numerous descendants now

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living in Alexander County. Many ministers have been ordained by Shiloh Church.

Though they were all skilled with the rifle and the axe they were primarily farmers, wheat being their main dependence as a crop. But when they came here the whole world was still cutting its wheat with a sickle of the kind seen in the "Song of the Lark." Their wheat fields were small and full of stumps of trees which no effort was made to get rid of until long years afterwards.

Their women folks did not work in the fields but,

"Mollie could spin
And Dollie could bake
And Polly had all the butter to make."

They were excellent cooks and good housekeepers. Even when they had only dirt floors, tradition says their houses were as neat as a pin. It was a common saying among them that,

"Where the cobwebs grow
No beaus go."

The story of the handsome young doctor and his sick horse was told often in every household to insure that the girls always kept their bread trays and doughboards clean. This young man had decided it was time for him to seek a wife. There were several young women whom he admired but he wanted to make no mistake as to good housekeeping. He called at the house of each girl and, pretending that his horse was sick, asked for some doughboard scrapings which he said was the only known remedy for his horse's particular ailment. At some of the places he had no difficulty in getting a plentiful supply. One lovely girl, though, had such a perfectly clean shining doughboard that there could not be found even the tiniest sliver of dough. She was terribly distressed about the horse but it just couldn't be helped. So this was the girl he courted and married.

The women spun and wove their own dresses and the clothing of their men folks, made their own candles from mutton tallow, spun the candle-wick, made their own soap from home-made lye and meat scraps, knit the family socks and stockings, and cooked the meals at a fireplace—right here in Alexander County. Not only that but when I was a child in the early 80's there were still many of our neighbors who could make the old spinning wheel hum and who still wore linsey-woolsey dresses, and practically everybody, myself included, wore home-knitted yarn stockings in the winter. I know one of those neighbors, Mrs. Frances Sanders, then a young girl, now living in Cairo, who boasted to me recently that she can take wool all the way from the sheep's back to a finished piece of cloth. I for one should like to take lessons from her if she would teach me.

In 1818 Illinois became a State. In the same year a group of outside capitalists secured a charter to organize the city and bank of Cairo and make Cairo the county seat, but the project failed. So Dr. William Alexander, a prominent physician living at America, set about to secure the county seat for that place. As the first group had named their venture for the great Egyptian city, Cairo, they went them one better and named theirs for a whole continent, America. Doctor Alexander was in Kaskaskia in 1819 when the legislature passed the act for organizing Alexander County and named it for him.

America promised to be a great city, and by 1820 a brick court house and jail and numerous houses had been built, more than \$100,000 having been expended, a vast sum for that day. One writer declares that there were 1,200 inhabitants by 1822. But this town went into decay as rapidly as it had grown up due to the disastrous fires and the fact that a sand bar had formed in front of the town making it impossible for boats to land, and by 1830 it had about disappeared from the face of the earth.

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The town of Unity was laid out in 1833. The Athertons who were home builders rather than commercialists had by this time cleared up much land, built good houses, schools and a church and had developed a rich agricultural community. The Hodges from Tennessee, and the Hunsakers from Jonesboro had joined them, likewise some of the enterprising citizens of America. Through their combined influence and interest the state legislature was prevailed upon to authorize the removal of the county seat from America to Unity in 1837.

The court house at Unity, a weather boarded log structure, was burned in 1843 when two prisoners set it on fire in burning their way to freedom. Part of the records were destroyed but not all—some of them in a Thomas Jefferson sort of handwriting may be seen today in the Cairo court house as they were written at America 1819-37, Unity 1837-45, and Thebes 1845-63—so beautifully written that they are works of skill and art. The corner stone of the America court house may be seen at the Mound City court house. Mr. Moyers rescued it from the dooryard of the Lyerly farm at America a few years ago, the Lyerlys being descendants of George Cloud, a prominent county official at America and at Unity.

In 1843 the part of the county east of Cache River was organized into a separate county and named Pulaski with its first county seat at old Caledonia on the Ohio near Dam 53, not far from the old site of America. Unity continued as the county seat of Alexander until 1845 when it was removed to Thebes.

By this time had come into the county many of the families now known as old settlers. To Thebes, McClure and down the Grapevine Trail had come the Lightners, Wiemans, Browns, Clutts, Walkers, Mintons, Phillips, Kendalls, McClures, Brackens, Bunches, McRavens, McCrites, Millers, Wilsons, Clapps, Nelsons, Harvills, Palmers, and

Vicks; to Elco and Tamms had come the Hazelwoods, Whites, Whitakers, Goodmans and others. Fayville (Santa Fe), Miller City, and Dog Tooth Bend were well settled. From this it can readily be seen how the west side population would pull to have the county seat on the Mississippi River at Thebes.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF NEW SALEM

Ceremonies at the Laying of the Cornerstone

A long step in the State's program of preserving its historic landmarks was taken on November 17, 1932, when the cornerstone of the Lincoln and Berry store was laid at the vanished village of New Salem.

For a number of years this village, the residence of Abraham Lincoln from 1831 to 1837, has been a state park. Prior to its acquisition by the State the Old Salem Lincoln League restored the Onstott Cooper Shop to its original site and erected the framework of several cabins, but it was not until an appropriation was made by the last legislature that the State of Illinois actively embarked upon a restoration program.

Ever since the appropriation for the reconstruction of the village of New Salem was made, a committee consisting of Director Harry H. Cleaveland of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, C. Herrick Hammond, State Supervising Architect, Joseph F. Booton, Thomas P. Reep and Dr. C. M. Service had been engaged in intensive research on the project. By early autumn this committee felt that it had gathered all significant data available. Accordingly, bids for the construction of twelve cabins were advertised for. The contract was awarded to English Brothers of Champaign, the same company which rebuilt the Lincoln Monument.

Ceremonies attendant upon the laying of the cornerstone were scheduled to be held on the site, but because of the in-

clement weather were transferred to the Methodist Church at Petersburg.

Logan Hay, President of the Abraham Lincoln Association, acted as chairman of the meeting. After a selection by the Petersburg High School Band, the Rev. Fred Schnathorst of Petersburg delivered the invocation. The chairman then introduced the Honorable Homer J. Tice, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the General Assembly, who spoke of the work of reconstruction as a project long dear to the people of Menard County and as an historical event full of inspiration for the entire nation. Following Mr. Tice, Dr. W. A. Evans of the Chicago *Tribune* read the following communication from Governor-elect Henry Horner to Governor Louis L. Emmerson:

THE LETTER OF THE GOVERNOR-ELECT

November 15, 1932.

Governor Louis L. Emmerson,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Governor Emmerson:

It is with sincere regret that I find myself unable to attend the laying of the cornerstone at Old Salem park. For a long time I have been observing with very great interest the development of the plans for the restoration of New Salem—always appreciative of the fine interest displayed by you and those who were operating under your direction in restoring this old Illinois town where there began to blossom the flower of the intellect and character of Abraham Lincoln. Your encouragement and contribution to the general effort to establish and preserve Lincoln shrines and to vitalize the Lincoln theme throughout this State has met the appreciation of those devoted men and women who have hoped and striven so valiantly to that end.

As your successor to the office of Governor, I hope to pick up the same thread of your Lincoln effort and carry on with it. To perpetuate and maintain the Lincoln story and its historical values is not only a duty to the generations to come, but it has an added and an equally valuable purpose

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in the inspiration it will bring to the youth and the elders of our State and our Nation. It will exercise a constant monitorship of the influences of "the noblest man who ever lived in the tide of the time."

I am advised that this is the 101st anniversary of Lincoln's arrival at New Salem. It is a significant and happy thought that you should have arranged the event on this anniversary. One hundred and one years after the beginning of those experiences, at the very place, Old Salem, where his career commenced, you are assembling devotees and students of the Lincoln theme. Earnest men and women have been there brought together by a common and unselfish interest, who are eagerly seeking to fix by monument and marker and shrine the milestones along the worshiped Lincoln trail. They are yearning for the unfolding of new messages and new information and new facts which will tell the complete story of a life of accomplishment, the source springs of which have never yet been fully explained.

To them and to many others, who like myself, are not able to be present, you have given further emphasis to our desire to follow in the wake of the man, whom no generation can sufficiently honor.

I am now indulging in the hope that when I take office as Governor, I shall have not only your help, but the help of others who have worked with you in your unremitting efforts, to preserve the shrine and emphasize the value of the example and the guidance of Abraham Lincoln.

Very truly yours,
Henry Horner.

Doctor Evans, who is known as a deep and original student of Lincoln's life, then spoke as follows:

DOCTOR EVANS' REMARKS

The span of life of Abraham Lincoln was fifty-six years. *Seven* Kentucky years of childhood. *Fourteen* Indiana years of mixed childhood and adolescence. *One* year of travel from Indiana to Macon County, Illinois, and from Sangamon County to New Orleans by way of Salem and from New Orleans to Salem. *Six* years of young manhood

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in Salem. *Twenty-four* years of adult life in Springfield. In Washington *four* years of maturity.

For him there was no season for retrospect or memories. His opportunities for sentiments were crowded into a few short years and the most important of these for him were those of the Salem period.

As he died he was buckling on his armor for the most difficult battle of his life—the battle for reconstruction. For this task God had endowed him and the experiences of life had trained him. No other man was so well fitted for this undertaking, and for no other part of his life was Abraham Lincoln so well endowed.

God and man had fitted him for that job above all others. The hands of man stayed him as he faced the greatest task. Since Lincoln died in full bloom it was true of him as it is not of lives lived out that every part of his life cycle was one of growth and change. He never crystallized or set. Of the several portions of that life the Salem period was one of the shortest. He landed here on election day in July, 1831, and he left for Springfield in April, 1837.

That first day he served as an election official, thus entering Illinois politics with a running start. He not only received and counted votes but he told stories and entertained the officials and the electorate. He that day impressed James Short of Salem as being "garrulous, boastful, restless—a wild harum-scarum kind of a man." Need I argue further that Lincoln was undergoing constant change!

While in Salem he ran for the legislature three times and was twice elected and he served as postmaster, deputy surveyor and as a private and captain in the state military forces.

It is not my purpose to fix on your minds the political successes and failures of Lincoln's Salem years. The thought I would like to have you consider is that these were the years in which emotion played its fullest part in the make-up that lives as Abraham Lincoln.

I hope at some time to develop this theme and to cite the evidence that goes to support it. Now the presentation can go no further than a suggestion.

The basis of Lincoln's political support in this period was emotion. His Old Salem friends and neighbors were with

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him right or wrong regardless of political affiliations. Logic and reason had nothing to do with it. They were for Abe—and this they continued for more than fifteen years after he left. Such political speeches as he made in this period and such writing as he did was flavored by sentiment and emotion.

This appeared in his Springfield speeches while running for the legislature of which there is record. Then his method underwent change. It flared up possibly for the last time in the speech against Cass delivered in Congress ten years after he left Salem and it may have been and probably was just that quality which flashed so brilliantly and unexpectedly in the Bloomington speech—and by reason of this was lost.

But after that the Lincoln speech was of a different quality with a different objective and made use of a different method. These are parts of the story. There is other evidence that goes to prove the character of the Lincoln mind in the Salem period. The training and molding of the period was needed for the completed product. Salem and the Salem life made its contribution to America's Lincoln.

Upon the conclusion of Doctor Evans' remarks the chairman introduced Mr. Henry A. Converse of Springfield, the speaker of the day. Mr. Converse's address follows:

MR. CONVERSE'S ADDRESS

Mr. Chairman, Governor Emerson, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

There is something fascinating about a landmark, particularly if it has had associated with it some great personality or some group of actors who have acted a real role in the drama of life.

A landmark is an inanimate thing, but it speaks a language all its own and broadcasts a message that is readily understood by those who are properly attuned to it.

There are many outstanding places with which we are all familiar, even though we may never have seen them. The great Rock of Gibraltar is typical of enduring strength and stability. So indelibly is its outline stamped upon the

minds of all that travellers approaching it from the sea instantly recognize it. Standing at the gateway to the Mediterranean, an outpost of the mighty British Empire, fortified to the last degree, it is ever a guardian of the peace of the world. But further it appeals to our sense of mystery when we recall that mythology teaches that it was one of the pillars erected by the mighty Hercules.

The visitor entering the great Roman Coliseum is deeply moved when he realizes that he is standing where gladiators engaged in death struggles with each other or with wild beasts, where early Christian martyrs were tortured to furnish entertainment for a Roman holiday, and as he looks up to those tiers of encircling seats he can almost see eighty thousand leering spectators eagerly leaning forward to render the verdict, thumbs down.

Stonehenge, in England, is another spot of mystery and fascination. Who placed those great monoliths in such odd and regular formation? Apparently they are the remains of a great heathen temple, but who erected that temple, and why? The best guess seems to be that they were so placed by the Druids, an ancient and practically unknown people, and it is generally supposed that this temple was the scene of some mysterious religious rites, possibly the place of human sacrifice.

The site of the Battle of Hastings holds little of present attraction, yet here the Normans defeated the Saxons and changed the entire course of the English, nay more, of the world's history.

Let us journey to this, the New World, and recount just a few American landmarks.

Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, Independence Hall, Faneuil Hall, and finally those that interest us most today, the Log Cabin at Hodgenville, Kentucky, the old State Capitol and Lincoln's home in Springfield, and last, but not least, this place, the site of the village of New Salem.

This village was an important scene in the great American Drama. In fact, so important a part did it constitute, that we can justly say that it was the stage setting for an entire act. It came into existence on these beautiful hills overlooking the Sangamon River in 1826. It passed off the stage in 1840.

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To this pioneer village came Abraham Lincoln in 1831, and among its typically midwestern types of the 30's he lived for six years. He had just reached man's estate. In familiar parlance, for the first time he was strictly on his own.

This village in its prime consisted of some thirty families. It had its quota of school teachers, singing masters, preachers, doctors, merchants, tavern keepers and mechanics. Here the young man Lincoln formed his mature character. Here he was storekeeper, postmaster, surveyor. He was a general all 'round handy man and good fellow, mingling with the villagers and surrounding neighbors, joining in their joys and sorrows and participating in their games and sports. Here he had his first love.

From this place he went to the State Legislature, thus taking his first step in that momentous and fateful political career. Here, sprawled out at full length, poring over a few borrowed books and newspapers by the dim light of a candle and log fire, he got the inspiration that ultimately made him the master of forceful and beautiful English.

Here, in arguing and debating with his neighbors and visitors, and delivering his first political speeches, he took the preparatory steps to ultimately become a national character as an orator and debater.

The time he spent here was scarcely more than the time our youth now spend in high school or in college. When he left here he had a fund of practical common sense, an insight into the American character, a slight business experience, the mathematical exactness of the surveyor, the power to influence his fellows by public speech.

He came here a raw, awkward, ungainly youth; he left here with ambition, self-confidence, a legislator moving to the new state capital with a license to practice law.

When he left here he had lived almost to a day, one-half of his life. The years of preparation had come to an end like a tale that is told. When he rode away from this village, all unknown to himself and his friends, he started upon one of the most colorful and dramatic journeys in all American annals.

When he dwelt in this village, no one, and he least of all, by the wildest flight of imagination, ever dreamed that one

day he would be master of great constitutional questions, that he would be possessed by an overwhelming passion to preserve the Union, and that he would be called upon to guide our ship of state through the greatest of all civil wars.

Even now in retrospection, we marvel that the keeper of this poor little bankrupt grocery store, in less than twenty years would become a voice crying in the wilderness: "A house divided against itself cannot stand," that the young man who wrestled and subdued the neighboring bully, soon would come to mental grips with the Little Giant, Stephen A. Douglas, probably the readiest debater who ever graced the United States Senate, in those greatest of all American debates,—that the village postmaster, the humblest of all federal appointees, in a quarter of a century, as the Chief Executive of this nation, would stand on a great battle field, and deliver a classic of model English, pleading for the preservation of the Union of States.

As we stand on these hills overlooking the Sangamon, another American landmark rises to meet our vision. We see another and more stately river, the Potomac, overlooking it a graceful colonial mansion—Mount Vernon, the owner and proprietor a striking figure of poise and dignity. His hair is powdered, he wears knee breeches, with silk stockings and buckled shoes, and at his side is a sword. He is the aristocratic owner of thousands of broad acres, he numbers his slaves and retainers by the hundreds, he is probably the wealthiest man in all the land. He has all that wealth, culture and social position can give.

His very soul is stirred and he risks his all in one cast of the die, in revolution against his king and mother country.

We see him hither and yon during long, heart-breaking, weary years, leading his tattered, poorly-provisioned and ill-fed troops until his cause is finally crowned with victory.

Then we see him as the presiding officer of that little group of patriots, struggling to bring forth a new nation. Time and again when that first national constitutional convention was about to dissolve in dissension, we see him, with pleadings, prayers and commands, hold his associates to their appointed task, until finally our national constitution is written, signed and sealed.

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Then in due course he becomes our first President—George Washington—first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.

The members of that convention probably constituted the best trained minds that ever met for any similar purpose. They were students of history and governments. They sought to establish a government that would not degenerate into a monarchy or dictatorship, yet one that would be strong against the weaknesses and dangers of a pure democracy.

They evolved a representative form of government divided into three separate departments, legislative, executive and judicial. Thus came into existence our national government resting upon a written constitution, stabilized by the well-known checks and balances. But time and trial alone would tell whether such a government could successfully function.

So far as we can judge, our fathers believed that they were bequeathing to posterity a form of government that would always be dominated by a more or less select group, that in the winnowing process of selecting our President by the electoral college, the life appointment of the judiciary, the length of terms and limited numbers of the members of the United States senate, the policies of this nation would be guided and dominated by a select group, an intellectual and possibly a property-owning sort of aristocracy.

The so-called common people of course were to have their proper voice in governmental affairs but by the very nature of the system they would be unable to overturn the established order by the exercise of sudden passion or the promulgation of a popular doctrine or whim. The political history of this nation from the adoption of the constitution to the Civil War in its main aspects, is common knowledge.

Finally the great underlying question had to be answered once and for all—Is this Union of States permanent and enduring—is it one and indissoluble?

This question could not be settled in the courts. The form of government given by our fathers could not provide any method to settle this problem—it had to be submitted to the arbitrament of arms.

And now let us turn to a great battlefield of the Civil War. The time is November, 1863. The occasion is the

dedication of a portion of that bloody field as a cemetery for the fallen soldiers.

A vast assembly is present. A great orator delivers a masterly address. Then a careworn President arises and reads a few simple words. He says among other things—"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here. . . ." How typical of the modesty of the man and how mistaken he was!

But the main theme of that address is what grips us—Listen—

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. . .

"It is for us, the living, rather to be here dedicated to the unfinished work. . .

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us. . .

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Who is this gaunt, careworn man who intones these simple but majestic words? Is he a man of wealth, culture and refinement? No, he is none other than the storekeeper, the postmaster, the surveyor, the poorly clad, poorly educated young man who trod these very hills and sojourned for six years among the people of this village.

This leader of the hosts of the Union forever came directly from our soil, sprung from the commonest of the common.

Thus we see Washington and Lincoln, exactly opposite types, equally endeared to all of us. They are both permanently enshrined in the World's Hall of Fame—the one for his contribution to the establishment of representative free government, the other for his contribution to its preservation.

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The reconstruction of this pioneer village is a noble and inspiring act. By the most painstaking research it is now possible to reproduce this village and its buildings in practically exact similitude. What an object lesson—what a shrine it will become! It will not only preserve for posterity a spot of almost sacred memories but it will truly display the early pioneer life of the Middle West.

What could be more inspiring than for fathers to take their sons on a pilgrimage commencing at the log cabin at Hodgenville, Kentucky, thence follow Lincoln through Indiana, into and across Illinois to this spot, thence to Springfield, to view the old State Capitol, the Lincoln Home, the Monument and Tomb, and thence on to Washington to the great Lincoln Memorial.

The lesson to be taught is not that every boy may become President of the United States, but rather that this great country is the land of equal opportunity for all, that this is the one great land where fortune knocks at the door of every individual be he great or small, and that every youth may reach the highest rung of the ladder if he has the courage, ambition, will and ability so to do.

This country owes a debt of gratitude to William Randolph Hearst for acquiring and deeding this site, to Governor Lowden for the preliminary work during his administration, to Governor Emmerson for seizing the opportunity to give it the impetus of his executive power, to Director of Public Works and Buildings Cleaveland for his untiring labors in pushing the project, to State Architect Hammond for his energy, devotion to detail and research and everlasting good taste and skill and last but not least, to the good people of this community who for years have had this inspiration and vision and who have clung to the project in season and out of season until it is now on the way to early realization.

This village flourished but a few short years. Like an act in a drama when it had served its purpose it was struck and taken from the stage.

Now we have hunted up all the old properties, drops and wings, and are resetting in exactitude the stage of a century ago.

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The actors have long since gone to their reward, but as we view the boards they trod in this beautiful setting, we can mentally picture their lives and their actions. It will give us pause in our busy, selfish pursuits—it will be an inspiration and will make us better men and women and above all, better American citizens.

The chairman of the meeting then introduced Governor Louis L. Emmerson, speaking warmly of the interest he had taken, not only in New Salem, but in the Lincoln landmarks and places of interest throughout the entire State. Governor Emmerson then spoke as follows:

GOVERNOR EMMERSON'S ADDRESS

We are gathered here today in reverent memory of Illinois' first son—the immortal Abraham Lincoln—whose life here in Old Salem and at Springfield, prepared him for the leadership that preserved the nation in the hour of its greatest darkness. Words are indeed futile as we attempt to express those feelings, which stir our souls and make our hearts beat faster, as we recall our debt of gratitude to him and rejoice in his leadership, which made our nation a beacon light to the oppressed peoples of all the world.

It is the history of any new country—and we are comparatively a new country—that it builds itself without planning for the future. That has been especially true in the middle western and western states, and here in Illinois we have either torn down or permitted the gradual decay of many of the historic shrines about which the early history of state and nation is written. Many of those points, so closely connected with Illinois history, have completely vanished, and it is only in recent years that we have fully awakened to the necessity of guarding against further destruction of such shrines, while at the same time bending our efforts toward the rebuilding of those which we have lost.

Obviously, the state is the only agency with the legal power and the financial strength to properly organize to guarantee the continuance of such structures, made important by the happenings of the past. With that in mind, and with the view of planning for an orderly development of

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the state's park system, it has been my pleasure to create a State Park Commission which has outlined a twenty-five year development, both of park and historical sites within the state.

It is the intention of that Commission—and I sincerely trust that its aims will be carried out by future administrations—that we shall gradually develop the recreational facilities of the state park system, so that the beauty spots of Illinois will be preserved for all time, and natural life of the state maintained for future increasing generations of city dwellers, who will find in the state parks their chief opportunity to know the rest and peace of mind that nature affords.

Moreover, it is the intention of the State Park Commission that, insofar as possible, those parks shall be built around historic sites, where we shall perpetuate the history of the early explorers, missionaries, settlers and great leaders of the state—both as a tribute to those who made possible the state, and as a part of the education of the future citizens of Illinois, who cannot but be better citizens because of the opportunity to re-live and re-visualize the life of those men who have left their mark on our history.

Illinois has no greater wealth than the example left us by the immortal Lincoln, and no historic shrines more important than those attached to his name.

It has been my rare privilege to have the opportunity of directing the rebuilding of the tomb of Lincoln at Springfield. It has been transformed into a monument comparing favorably with any erected to the memory of those men and women who have shaped the history of the world—a signal to those in high places that eternal fame comes not in the accumulation of wealth or personal honors, but in unselfish service to one's fellow men.

It has been a further privilege to participate in the plans for the re-creation of Old Salem, and in seeing those plans carried from the formative to the creative stage. Today, we officially begin the first historical reconstruction project of its kind in the history of America—the complete, authentic reproduction of an entire community—a community which can never die in the minds of men because of its close association with one of the world's immortal figures.

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This reconstruction project is not of a moment's doing, but rather the consummation of months of deep thought and intensive study. When it is completed we can say to the world—"here is the New Salem of Lincoln's day"—for to every intent and purpose it will be an exact duplicate, in location, in construction and in materials.

Such a project is not conceived and carried out without the assistance of public-spirited men giving unselfishly of their time. To all those who have aided so materially in the research work necessary before this project could be launched, I extend my personal thanks and the thanks of all the men and women of the state. It has been to them a labor of love, in which the sole recompense is the knowledge that they are having a share in the preservation of the village of Lincoln's young manhood, as an inspiration for the hundreds of thousands of future citizens, who will pilgrimage here in the years to come.

Included in the work now under way is the construction of a building to house the Onstott cooper house, the only original building still remaining intact, and the reconstruction of the residences of Dr. John Allen, the Hill family, Robert Johnson, Dr. Regnier, Alexander Waddell, the Miller-Kelsos, the Onstott's, Peter Lukin's home and shop, Offutt's store, McNamar's store, Miller's blacksmith shop, Clary's grocery and the Lincoln-Berry store.

All of these buildings are to be exact replicas of those which they replace. All except the Lincoln-Berry store will be of hewn oak logs, while it will be sheathed in walnut siding. All timbers will be treated with artificial aging and preserving processes, so that they will not only give the idea of age, but will resist the ravages of time.

As soon as this work is completed, plans call for the reconstruction of the balance of the crude cabins, the Rutledge tavern, the Mentor Graham school house, and the old mill.

It would be amiss to conclude this brief review of the plans for Old Salem State Park without expressing thanks to the Old Salem Lincoln League, and to all loyal citizens of this community who have labored faithfully for many years to create the interest necessary for the launching of this program. A great share of the credit for the rebuilding of Old Salem is due them.

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As I stand here in the quiet peace that always pervades Old Salem, I cannot but help envision the scene as it was in Lincoln's day. Out of the east had come a race of crusaders, explorers and adventurers, gathered from the lands of the old world; men of different languages and different nations, but with one common purpose—the subjugation of the great plains of the middle west to the purpose of mankind, and the creation of a nation of freedom and equal opportunity for all. They attempted the impossible, and in a brief span of years achieved the unbelievable. That was the land of Old Salem in the day of Lincoln, a land wrested from the primeval forces of nature, yet still not fully turned to the uses of man; a land rough and crude, inhabited by men who were rough and crude, yet men in whom burned the flames of loyalty and patriotism, men untamed, but inspired by the fire of crusaders.

Their implements were inefficient, and their comforts few, but their pleasures were many, and their sincerity of purpose and patriotic fervor unquestioned. Here Lincoln lived in his most important formative years. Here he studied by the light of shavings in the old Onstott shop, and here he worked as storekeeper and postmaster, and learned the lessons of honest effort, which were to serve him so well in future years. Here in the quiet of these woods, he first learned to separate the dross from the gold, to analyze life and its problems, to choose a course of action, and to stay with it to the end. But, more important than all, he learned to know mankind, which, in the final analysis, is one of the most remarkable attributes of Lincoln; for, more than any of his contemporaries, he knew life in its various phases; he knew the wells from which spring the impulses that control life; and, knowing it, he remembered to love all mankind. Old Salem was the crucible in which the real Lincoln was formed.

It is a far cry indeed from the Old Salem of Lincoln's day to that of our own. The yoke and oxen have given way to the tractor, and the flail to the combine. Where the tallow candle once shed its flickering feeble glow, electricity now surrounds with brilliance, and the thousand and one other inventions that have come to bless our lives make the life of his day almost incomprehensible.

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Like social life, government also has changed. It has become more involved, more complex, a great machine that demands constant oiling and constant attention, so that it may be changed to meet the needs of the time.

Government of Lincoln's day was largely protective; it had no reason to be creative, because home life and community life were dominant factors, and what one section of the country did or did not had relatively little effect on the well-being of another section.

Today, the protective powers of government have been greatly increased because life is no longer individual but social in a high degree. Today, what one man, one city, or one state does, may affect the well-being of other men, other cities and other states, in a most direct manner. Local, state and national government, through their regulatory powers, have taken over the responsibility of seeing that no one class and no one section trample on another class or another section. While extending its protective powers, government has assumed creative powers, and today we are accomplishing, through organized effort, the construction of great bridges, great highway systems, sanitary projects, and other public works, of a nature undreamed of not many years past.

But, in spite of all these changes in our mode of living, the essentials of good citizenship have changed little or none from those prevailing in the days when Old Salem was a swaddling village, hoping for the growth which never came. The chief attributes of good citizenship of that day were: first, an honest effort to make an honest living; second, a willingness to be of assistance to those less fortunately situated; and third, the will to understand the problems of state and community life, and to decide them without bias, fear or compromise. Those attributes hold good today, and so long as they are honestly followed, we need have no fear of the permanence of democratic government as conceived by Washington and perpetuated by Lincoln.

We wander sometimes from those essentials, and yet, from generation to generation, there runs through the American people a golden thread of patriotism that in times of stress, flames into an unquenchable fire in defense of home and nation. In the rebuilding of this Lincoln shrine, we are creating a sacred place where future generations may come

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to replenish that fire as it burns low, and where the youth of the land may be inspired to achieve greatness through solemn contemplation of the human love, the undying devotion to principle, and the steadfastness of effort which so characterized the life of Lincoln. That example is our greatest Lincoln heritage—greater by far than these shrines so hallowed by his name.

Upon the conclusion of Governor Emmerson's address the meeting adjourned to Old Salem State Park, where the Governor officiated at the laying of the cornerstone. In the cornerstone were deposited the following articles:

1. Photographs of Louis L. Emmerson, Governor; Henry Horner, Governor-Elect; H. H. Cleaveland, Director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings; Henry H. Kohn, Director of the Department of Purchases and Construction; C. Herrick Hammond, State Supervising Architect; and Joseph F. Booton, Chief Draughtsman.
2. Documented description of the twelve cabins to be erected at this time; report of the resurvey of the original Town of New Salem by Ray V. Tilly; photostatic copy of the survey of the town showing the location of the cabins; photostatic copy of contour map of New Salem hill; photograph of a drawing of the reconstructed village, by Rolfe Renouf.
3. The *Illinois State Register* for October 9, 1932; the *Illinois State Journal* for November 13, 1932; copies of *Lincoln at New Salem*, by Thomas P. Reep; *Illinois State Parks and Memorials* and *Lincoln and Historic Illinois*.
4. Letter of Governor-Elect Henry Horner to Governor Louis L. Emmerson; Lincoln Centennial half-dollar; Boy Scout medal awarded for Lincoln Trail Hike.

The ceremony ended with brief remarks by Governor Emmerson, Director Harry H. Cleaveland of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, and C. Herrick Hammond, State Supervising Architect.

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THE OFFICIAL NAME OF NEW SALEM

Readers will probably note the apparently indiscriminate use of the words "New Salem," "Old Salem" and "Salem" in the article on the dedicatory exercises at the Menard County village in this number of the *Journal*. The editor was dismayed at the variations in usage, but decided to adhere to the ancient editorial rule of "following copy" instead of indulging in what seemed to be unwarranted interference with the preferences of the various speakers.

For at the time these speeches were delivered, uniformity in usage was hardly possible. The original name of the village was "New Salem," to be sure, but in order to avoid confusion with Salem in Marion County and the postoffice of New Salem in Pike County, residents of the vicinity fell into the habit of referring to the place as "Old Salem," and that was the designation which the State of Illinois applied to the state park created there. Endless confusion has resulted.

Recognizing the necessity of straightening out the matter, as well as the desirability of restoring the original name of the village, Governor Emmerson, by executive proclamation on December 20, 1932, officially designated the state park at the old village as "New Salem State Park." So once again the former home of Lincoln becomes "New Salem."

Paul M. Angle.

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SOME EARLY PHYSICIANS OF GREENE COUNTY

Heretofore unrecorded facts pertaining to medical practitioners at White Hall and Greene County were reported to the September meeting of the Greene County Medical Society at White Hall on September 9th. Dinner was served at the Dyer Cafe, the session in the library building following, with a technical address by Doctor Browse of Jacksonville. There were seventeen doctors present from various points in Greene County, including Doctors Browse and Newcomb of Jacksonville, Wilson of Carrollton and Demke of Eldred, non-members.

Dr. W. H. Garrison of White Hall, Secretary, made a report of the event carried out July 3rd, last, representing the Greene County Medical Society, in connection with the White Hall Centennial celebration on that date, in which he said:

In the cemetery on Carlinville Street, White Hall, now called Memorial Park, we find the burial places of the following physicians, names not mentioned in local, county or medical history of Greene County: Dr. Aaron Jackson, on whose gravestone is the following inscription: "Aaron Jackson, M.D., born Sept. 26, 1767, died Sept. 7, 1839." By the side of this grave, on the south, is the grave of his wife, and on the stone is this inscription: "Abigail Hull, wife of Dr. Aaron Jackson, born Sept. 17, 1775, died Aug. 26, 1845."

On the north side of the grave of Dr. Aaron Jackson is the grave of Dr. A. L. Jackson, and on the stone is the following inscription: "A. L. Jackson, M.D., born 19th of June, 1811, graduated at Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb., 1835, died 16th of Oct., 1844."

It would appear from the location of the graves that Dr. A. L. Jackson, M.D., was a son of Dr. Aaron Jackson, and if the gravestones are an indication of the financial and social status of the family, they seem to have been persons of influence in the community. These graves were put in

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good condition by the White Hall Medical Society, with the assistance of F. Harold Garrison, who donated work in resetting the stones, in June, 1932.

The resting place of the above persons is beneath the shade of a beautiful evergreen tree, which was dedicated to the memory of Dr. John Brown Hamilton, who spent his boyhood in White Hall, and later, in 1879, became Surgeon General of the U. S. Marine Hospital Service, in which position he served with great distinction.

The dedication services were held in the Christian Church of White Hall, because of rain, on July 3rd, 1932. The tree was dedicated by Dr. W. H. Garrison, representing the Greene County Medical Society. Dr. Garrison gave a comprehensive sketch of the life of Doctor Hamilton, closing with the following words: "It gives me great pleasure, as the representative of the physicians of Greene County, to dedicate this beautiful, living evergreen to the memory of so eminent a physician as Dr. John Brown Hamilton, and through him to the medical profession at large. As it lifts its mighty boughs heavenward, it symbolizes most impressively the live-saving labors of Dr. Hamilton, and of the noble profession of which he was a member."

Secretary Garrison has been endeavoring to ascertain through medical college records at Cincinnati something further concerning Dr. A. L. Jackson and his evidently cultured family. Any information will be appreciated by Dr. Garrison, as well as exchanges of ideas on subjects pertaining to medical history.

R. B. Pearce.

White Hall, Illinois.

SCOUTING IN HISTORY

The East St. Louis Girl Scout Council initiated during 1932 a program of historical trips. This was part of their activities directed toward providing wholesome interests for girls through the summer at the minimum cost.

On June 28, the girls visited Cahokia State Park, where they explored the remarkable group of Indian mounds and

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studied the relic collection. The girls were fascinated by the theories of the origin of the mounds retold to them from the accounts of archaeological writers.

On July 12, the girls visited the old village of Cahokia where they saw the church built in 1799 and the Jarrot Mansion. On the same day the girls visited Parks Airport and the Curtiss-Steinberg flying field which are the centers of modern Cahokia life.

On August 2, a visit was made to Fort Chartres State Park near Prairie Du Rocher, Illinois, where the foundations remain of what was once the most strongly fortified military post in the Western Hemisphere.

The St. Louis Live Stock Exchange and Swift Packing Company entertained 58 girls and leaders on August 9, at the National Stock Yards, thereby giving them an insight into one of the fundamental industries of East St. Louis.

In order to become better acquainted with the history of their county—the oldest in the State of Illinois—the girls visited St. Clair County Court House at Belleville on August 23. The county officers gave them free access to the museum and to the oldest county records. In the afternoon the party visited a center of national defense today, Scott Field.

The summer trips closed on August 30 with an all-day excursion to Forest Park, St. Louis. They visited the Zoo, Art Museum, Lindbergh Trophies, and Historical Collections at Jefferson Memorial.

The success of the summer program led the committee to extend it by a Lincoln pilgrimage on October 8. Fifty Girl Scouts with five leaders spent that day on a trip to Springfield and New Salem State Park.

Automobile transportation was provided, except on the trips to Forest Park and Springfield. On these occasions, busses were chartered at a reasonable cost to the girls. Each person in the party took her own picnic lunch.

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The program was in charge of the Camp Committee of which Mrs. J. L. Webb is chairman. For many of the girls it was a first introduction to the fact that their own neighborhood had one of the most thrilling historical backgrounds in the United States. They seem likely to be stimulated to a further interest which will preserve the monuments of Illinois.

Josephine Boylan.

East St. Louis.

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On October 9 the DeKalb County Historical Society dedicated a unique historical marker. To mark the old trail used by Shabbona and other Pottowatomies from Shabbona's village in southern DeKalb County to Big Foot Lake (now Lake Geneva, Wisconsin), an old trail tree was removed from the farm of A. H. Pond, north of Sycamore, filled with cement and set in concrete on the campus of the Northern Illinois State Teachers College at DeKalb. The tree, a burr oak, was bent in the odd fashion used by the Indians in marking trails. Tree rings showed it to be 151 years old.

The dedicatory program opened with a pageant depicting the manner in which the Indians travelled over their trails. Shabbona and his band were represented in realistic fashion. Mr. Louis E. Lloyd, Vice-President of the Society, then told the story of the tree and described the difficulties which the Society had to overcome in transferring it from its original location. Mr. George Gowry, 94 years of age, spoke briefly of the trail as he knew it in his own boyhood. Judge William J. Fulton gave a brief history of the land on which the tree now stands. Mr. Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke of the significance of trails in the history of the State. Mr. Frank E. Stevens, President of the DeKalb County Historical Society, formally presented the tree to the Northern Illinois State Teachers College. It was accepted on behalf of the college by Prof. S. F. Parson.

In spite of inclement weather the dedication was well attended.

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On October 30, in response to a call issued by J. Nick Perrin, a number of residents of Calhoun County met at Perrin's Ledge and organized the Calhoun County, Illinois, Historical Society. Perrin's Ledge, situated on the Illinois River two miles north of Kampsville, is thought by many to have been the spot where members of the Joliet-Marquette expedition first landed on what is now Illinois soil.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Charles M. Hagen. After the adoption of a constitution, the following officers were elected: President, H. V. McCoy; Vice-President, Charles M. Hagen; Secretary, William E. Wells. Headquarters of the Society are to be at Perrin's Ledge. Meetings will be held on the call of the President or on the petition of any three active members.

The Chicago Historical Society formally opened its new building to the public on November 12. The beautiful colonial building, situated in Lincoln Park not far from St. Gaudens' famous statue of Abraham Lincoln, was erected at a cost of approximately one million dollars.

In addition to a fine library, the building houses an historical museum unique in this country. Period rooms, chronologically arranged, unfold the history of America from its discovery to the end of the World War. Infinite pains have been taken to ensure accurate reproduction of famous rooms and places. On display are many items of human as well as historical interest—Lafayette's dressing gown, the personal wardrobe of Lincoln, the fiddle with which Mark Beaubien entertained the trappers and frontiersmen of early Chicago.

The new building is the fifth to be occupied by the Chicago Historical Society. That Society is probably the oldest of its kind in the State, having been founded in the late 1850's and having existed continuously to the present time.

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A memorial to Cyrus and John Howard Bryant was dedicated at Princeton on October 2. Just a hundred years ago the two brothers settled at Round Point in what was then Putnam and is now Bureau County. At the dedication of the memorial Miss Grace Bryant, a descendant, read a paper on the coming of the Bryants.

Another step in the preservation of landmarks associated with Lincoln is being taken in Washington, where various patriotic societies and the federal government are restoring the house in which Lincoln died to its original appearance.

The home, known as the Petersen house, stands directly across the street from Ford's Theatre. Lincoln was carried to it soon after he was shot, and died there the following morning. The exterior of the building needs no restoration. Old diagrams and newspaper accounts have yielded descriptions of almost every piece of furniture in the building at the time of Lincoln's death, and numerous donations of period furniture have given those interested the means of re-creating the interior.

From September 18 to 21, the streets of Springfield were thronged with visitors—blue-clad veterans of the Union armies, their sons and daughters. It was the sixty-sixth national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic. In attendance were approximately 7,000 members of the G. A. R. and affiliated societies.

The encampment opened with ceremonies at the Lincoln monument. Wreaths were placed on the tomb by Samuel P. Towne, Commander-in-Chief of the G. A. R., and by representatives of Sons of Union Veterans and Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War. On the last day of the encampment more than six hundred of the thousand veterans present marched in the parade. Ninety-seven Illinois veterans were in line.

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Among the official acts of the encampment was the endorsement of a plan for a national G. A. R. memorial to be erected at the site of the Lincoln monument at a cost of \$300,000. Tentative plans call for an outdoor amphitheater to be constructed on the hill sloping from the north side of the present monument. In connection with the amphitheater a memorial museum would be erected.

Chandlerville, Cass County, celebrated its one hundredth anniversary on October 7. The feature of the observance was a pageant written by Mrs. Josephine Craven Chandler of Havana, a descendant of Dr. Charles Chandler for whom the town was named. One hundred persons took part in the pageant. Episodes included the arrival of Doctor Chandler and the passage through Chandlerville of Lincoln and his company of Black Hawk War soldiers.

Another Illinois community to celebrate its centennial in the same month was Mechanicsburg in Sangamon County. Again the central feature of the observance was a pageant, presented on October 22. Floats and costumes pictured the life of the community for the hundred years of its existence. A covered wagon, a blacksmith shop, log cabins, spinning wheels and looms were all in evidence. A particularly interesting contribution was made by the Mechanicsburg Women's Club, which produced a style show with costumes dating from 1837 to the 'Merry Widow' period of 1906.

December 26, 1932, marked the centennial of Meredosia in Morgan County, one hundred years having elapsed since the town was laid out by Thomas January. January was an enterprising pioneer, and one of the contractors who built the western section of the Northern Cross railway, the first railroad in the State.

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For many years Meredosia was one of the thriving towns of Illinois. Situated on the Illinois River, it was favorably located for commercial purposes in the days before railroads, and not a small part of the farm produce of central Illinois was loaded there for New Orleans and other southern markets. Many noted men have visited there at one time or another. Foremost among them are Martin Van Buren, ex-President of the United States, and Abraham Lincoln, who spoke there in 1858 in the course of his campaign against Douglas.

One of the largest audiences in its history marked the Illinois Day meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, held in Springfield, on December 2nd.

The meeting opened with an invocation by the Rev. Jerry Wallace of Springfield. Mrs. David J. Peffers of Aurora, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, then presented the gold medal to Arnold Ward of Danville, winner of the 1932 essay contest held under the joint auspices of the Illinois State Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole delivered the address of the evening, which is to be found in printed form at the beginning of this number of the *Journal*. Speaking with the aid of both slides and motion pictures, Dr. Cole was warmly applauded. After the meeting, those in attendance visited the Illinois State Museum of Natural History, and then were guests at a reception in the Illinois State Historical Library.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole is Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, and also Ethnologist at the Field Museum of Natural History. He has headed many scientific expeditions, both here and abroad. Arnold Ward, winner of the 1932 essay contest, is now a student at

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Indiana University. Richard R. Stenberg, Ph.D., is engaged in research at the University of Texas, where he is devoting the major portion of his time to study of the so-called "lesser" men who have shaped American life. Helen Edith Sheppley is a teacher in the Springfield Public Schools. Mrs. Laura Milford Rife resides in Cairo, Illinois. She has had long experience as a teacher and student of local history.

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